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THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

JOSEPH ADDISON

VOL. II.

PROSE WORKS

Nashville

THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF JOSEPH ADDISON

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VOL. II.

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NOTE

SHORTLY before Addison died he arranged that his friend Thomas Tickell should publish his works, and in 1721 a collected edition appeared in four quarto volumes, with a letter of dedication from Addison to Craggs. This letter shows that Tickell's edition may be regarded as the final authority for everything contained in it, but a few works usually attributed to Addison were omitted, presumably in accordance with Addison's instructions. The plan of the present edition has been to reprint in the first two volumes Tickell's text of everything which he includes (except the Essays), and to collate all the earlier editions of each work so far as they could be found. Other works which appear to be genuine have been reprinted from the original editions, and collated with the important reissues. Works which appear to be spurious or very doubtful are printed in an appendix to the third volume.

To each work there has been prefixed a note in two parts: the first states which text has been reprinted and which editions have been collated, the second deals very briefly with its bibliography. A detailed introduction and commentary and a general bibliography will be found in the third volume, which also contains Addison's Correspondence.

A few misprints in Tickell's text have been corrected. The changes are marked by square brackets.

A. C. G.

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PROSE WORKS

ENGLISH

VOL. II.—1

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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PROSE WORKS

ENGLISH

VOL. II.—I

Text: from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), collated with the texts in the first edition of *The Works of Virgil. . . . Translated . . . By Mr. Dryden* (1697), and the third (1709) and fourth (1716) editions of the same translation.

The *Essay on Virgil's Georgics* was first printed in Dryden's *Virgil* (1697), and was reprinted without material alteration in the reissues of that translation, and in Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721).

AN ESSAY ON *VIRGIL*'s GEORGICS.

VIRGIL may be reckoned the first who introduced three new kinds of Poetry among the *Romans*, which he copied after three the greatest masters of *Greece*. *Theocritus* and *Homer* have still disputed for the advantage over him in *Pastoral* and *Heroics*, but I think all are unanimous in giving him the precedence to *Hesiod* in his *Georgics*. The truth of it is, the sweetness and rusticity of a *Pastoral* cannot be so well expressed in any other tongue as in the *Greek*, when rightly mixed and qualified with the *Doric* dialect; nor can the majesty of an Heroic Poem any where appear so well as in this language, which has a natural greatness in it, and can be often rendered more deep and sonorous by the pronunciation of the *Ionians*. But in the Middle stile, where the writers in both tongues are on a level, we see how far *Virgil* has excelled all who have written in the same way with him.

There has been abundance of Criticism spent on *Virgil*'s *Pastorals* and *Æneids*, but the *Georgics* are a subject which none of the Critics have sufficiently taken into their consideration; most of them [1] passing it over in silence, or casting it under the same head with *Pastoral*; a division

Title: 1697, 1709, 1716.] AN | ESSAY | ON THE | GEORGICS.
[1] them] 'em, 1697, 1709, 1716.

by no means proper, unless we suppose the stile of a Husbandman ought to be imitated in a *Georgic*, as that of a Shepherd is in *Pastoral*. But though the scene of both these Poems lies in the same place; the speakers in them are of a quite different character, since the precepts of husbandry are not to be delivered with the simplicity of a Plowman, but with the address of a Poet. No rules therefore that relate to *Pastoral*, can any way affect the *Georgics*, since they [1] fall under that class of Poetry, which consists in giving plain and direct instructions to the reader; whether they be Moral duties, as those of *Theognis* and *Pythagoras*; or Philosophical speculations, as those of *Aratus* and *Lucretius*; or Rules of practice, as those of *Hesiod* and *Virgil*. Among these different kinds of subjects, that which the *Georgics* go [2] upon, is I think the meanest and least [3] improving, but the most pleasing and delightful. Precepts of morality, besides the natural corruption of our tempers, which makes us averse to them, are so abstracted from Ideas of sense, that they seldom give an opportunity for those beautiful descriptions and images which are the spirit and life of Poetry. Natural Philosophy has indeed sensible objects to work upon, but then it often puzzles the Reader with the intricacy of its notions, and perplexes him with the multitude of its disputes. But this kind of Poetry I am now speaking of, addresses it self wholly to the imagination: It is altogether conversant among the fields and woods, and has the most delightful part of Nature for its province. It raises in our minds a pleasing variety of scenes and landscapes, whilst it teaches us; and makes the dryest of its precepts look like a description. *A* Georgic *therefore is some part of the science of husbandry put into a pleasing dress, and set off with all the Beauties and Embellishments of Poetry.* Now since this science of Husbandry is of a very large extent, the Poet shews his skill in singling out such precepts to proceed on, as are useful, and at the same time most capable of ornament. *Virgil* was so well acquainted with this secret, that to set off his first *Georgic*, he has run into a set of precepts, which

[1] since they] which, 1697, 1709, 1716.
[2] go] goes, 1697, 1709, 1716.
[3] and least] and the least, 1697, 1709, 1716.

are almost foreign to his subject, in that beautiful account he gives us of the Signs in Nature, which precede the changes of the weather.

And if there be so much art in the choice of fit precepts, there is much more required in the treating of them [1]; that they may fall in after each other by a natural unforced method, and shew themselves in the best and most advantageous light. They should all be so finely wrought together in [2] the same piece, that no coarse seam may discover where they join; as in a curious brede of needlework, one colour falls away by such just degrees, and another rises so insensibly, that we see the variety, without being able to distinguish the total vanishing of the one from the first appearance of the other. Nor is it sufficient to range and dispose this body of precepts into a clear and easie method, unless they are delivered to us in the most pleasing and agreeable manner: For there are several ways of conveying the same truth to the mind of man; and to chuse the pleasantest of these ways, is that which chiefly distinguishes Poetry from Prose, and makes *Virgil*'s rules of Husbandry pleasanter to read than *Varro*'s. Where the Prose-writer tells us plainly what ought to be done, the Poet often conceals the precept in a description, and represents his Country-man performing the action in which he would instruct his reader. Where the one sets out as fully and distinctly as he can, all the parts of the truth, which he would communicate to us; the other singles out the most pleasing circumstance of this truth, and so conveys the whole in a more diverting manner to the understanding. I shall give one instance out of a multitude of this nature that might be found in the *Georgics*, where the reader may see the different ways *Virgil* has taken to express the same thing, and how much pleasanter every manner of expression is, than the plain and direct mention of it would have been. It is in the second *Georgic*, where he tells us what Trees will bear grafting on each other.

Et sæpe alterius ramos impune videmus
Vertere in alterius, mutatamque insita mala

[1] them] 'em, 1697, 1709, 1716. [2] in] into, 1697.

Ferre pyrum, et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna.
——Steriles Platani malos gessere valentes,
Castaneæ fagos, ornusque incanuit albo
Flore pyri: Glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis.
——Nec longum tempus: et ingens
Exiit ad Cælum ramis felicibus arbos;
Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.

Here we see the Poet considered all the effects of this union between Trees of different kinds, and took notice of that effect which had the most surprise, and by consequence the most delight in it, to express the capacity that was in them of being thus united. This way of writing is every where much in use among the Poets, and is particularly practised by *Virgil*, who loves to suggest a truth indirectly, and without giving us a full and open view of it, to let us see just so much as will naturally lead the imagination into all the parts that lie concealed. This is wonderfully diverting to the understanding, thus to receive a precept, that enters as it were through a by-way, and to apprehend an Idea that draws a whole train after it. For here the Mind, which is always delighted with its own discoveries, only takes the hint from the Poet, and seems to work out the rest by the strength of her own faculties.

But since the inculcating precept upon precept, will at length prove tiresom to the reader, if he meets with no entertainment,[1] the Poet must take care not to encumber his Poem with too much business; but sometimes to relieve the Subject with a moral reflection, or let it rest a-while for the sake of a pleasant and pertinent digression. Nor is it sufficient to run out into beautiful and diverting digressions (as it is generally thought) unless they are brought in aptly, and are something of a piece with the main design of the *Georgic*: For they ought to have a remote alliance at least to the subject, that so the whole Poem may be more uniform and agreeable in all its parts. We should never quite lose sight of the Country, though we are sometimes entertained with a distant prospect of it. Of this nature are *Virgil*'s descriptions of the

[1] no entertainment] no other entertainment, 1697, 1709, 1716.

original of *Agriculture*, of the fruitfulness of *Italy*, of a country life, and the like, which are not brought in by force, but naturally rise out of the principal argument and design of the Poem. I know no one digression in the *Georgics* that may seem to contradict this observation, besides that in the latter end of the First book, where the Poet launches out into a discourse of the battel of *Pharsalia*, and the actions of *Augustus:* But it is [1] worth while to consider how admirably he has turned the course of his narration into its proper channel, and made his Husbandman concerned even in what relates to the battel, in those inimitable lines,

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola incurvo[2] *terram molitus aratro,*
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

And afterwards speaking of *Augustus*'s actions, he still remembers that *Agriculture* ought to be some way hinted at throughout the whole Poem.

——*Non ullus aratro*
Dignus honos: squalent abductis arva colonis:
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.

We now come to the Stile which is proper to a *Georgic*; and indeed this is the part on which the Poet must lay out all his strength, that his words may be warm and glowing, and that every thing he describes may immediately present it self, and rise up to the reader's view. He ought in particular to be careful of not letting his subject debase his stile, and betray him into a meanness of expression, but every where to keep up his verse in all the pomp of numbers, and dignity of words.

I think nothing which is a Phrase or Saying in common talk, should be admitted into a serious Poem; because it takes off from the solemnity of the expression, and gives it too great a turn of familiarity: Much less ought the

[1] it is] it's, 1697, 1709, 1716.
[2] *incurvo*] *in curvo*, 1697, 1709, 1716.

low phrases and terms of art, that are adapted to Husbandry, have any place in such a work as the *Georgic*, which is not to appear in the natural simplicity and nakedness of its subject, but in the pleasantest dress that Poetry can bestow on it. Thus *Virgil*, to deviate from the common form of words, would not make use of *Tempore* but *Sydere* in his first verse; and every where else abounds with *Metaphors*, *Grecisms*, and *Circumlocutions*, to give his verse the greater pomp, and preserve it from sinking into a *Plebeian* stile. And herein consists *Virgil*'s master-piece, who has not only excelled all other Poets, but even himself in the language of his *Georgics*; where we receive more strong and lively *Ideas* of things from his words, than we could have done from the objects themselves: And find our imaginations more affected by his descriptions, than they would have been by the very sight of what he describes.

I shall now, after this short scheme of rules, consider the different success that *Hesiod* and *Virgil* have met with in this kind of Poetry, which may give us some further notion of the excellence of the *Georgics*. To begin with *Hesiod*; if we may guess at his character from his writings, he had much more of the Husbandman than the Poet in his temper: He was wonderfully grave, discreet, and frugal, he lived altogether in the country, and was probably for his great prudence the oracle of the whole neighbourhood. These principles of good Husbandry ran through his works, and directed him to the choice of tillage and merchandize, for the subject of that which is the most celebrated of them. He is every where bent on instruction, avoids all manner of digressions, and does not stir out of the field once in the whole *Georgic*. His method in describing month after month with its proper seasons and employments, is too grave and simple; it takes off from the surprize and variety of the Poem, and makes the whole look but like a modern Almanack in verse. The reader is carried through a course of weather, and may before-hand guess whether he is to meet with snow or rain, clouds or sunshine in the next description. His descriptions indeed have abundance of nature in them, but then it is nature in her simplicity and undress. Thus when he speaks of *January*; 'The wild beasts, says he, run shivering through

'the woods with their heads stooping to the ground, and 'their tails clapt between their legs; the Goats and Oxen 'are almost flea'd with cold; but it is not so bad with the 'Sheep, because they have a thick coat of wool about 'them.[1] The old men too are bitterly pincht with the 'weather, but the young girls feel nothing of it, who sit 'at home with their mothers by a warm fire-side.' Thus does the old gentleman give himself up to a loose kind of tattle, rather than endeavour after a just Poetical description. Nor has he shewn more of art or judgment in the precepts he has given us, which are sown so very thick, that they clog the Poem too much, and are often so minute and full of circumstances, that they weaken and unnerve his verse. But after all, we are beholden[2] to him for the first rough sketch of a *Georgic:* Where we may still discover something venerable in the antickness of the work; but if we would see the design enlarged, the figures reformed, the colouring laid on, and the whole piece finished, we must expect it from a greater master's hand.

Virgil has drawn out the rules of[3] Tillage and Planting into two books, which *Hesiod* has dispatched in half a one; but has so raised the natural rudeness and simplicity of his subject with such a significancy of expression, such a pomp of verse, such variety of transitions, and such a solemn air in his reflections, that if we look on both Poets together, we see in one the plainness of a downright Countryman, and in the other, something of a rustick majesty, like that of a *Roman* Dictator at the plow-tail. He delivers the meanest of his precepts with a kind of grandeur, he breaks the clods and tosses the dung about with an air of gracefulness. His prognostications of the weather are taken out of *Aratus*, where we may see how judiciously he has pickt out those that are most proper for his Husbandman's observation; how he has enforced the expression, and heightened the images which he found in the original.

The second book has more wit in it, and a greater boldness in its metaphors than any of the rest. The Poet with a

[1] them] 'em, 1697, 1709, 1716.
[2] beholden] beholding, 1697, 1709, 1716.
[3] of] for, 1697.

great beauty, applies oblivion, ignorance, wonder, desire, and the like, to his Trees. The last *Georgic* has indeed as many metaphors, but not so daring as this; for human thoughts and passions may be more naturally ascribed to a Bee, than to an inanimate Plant. He who reads over the pleasures of a Country life, as they are described by *Virgil* in the latter end of this book, can scarce be of *Virgil*'s mind in preferring even the life of a Philosopher to it.

We may I think read the Poet's clime in his description, for he seems to have been in a sweat at the writing of it.

> ——*O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi*
> *Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!*

And is every where mentioning among his chief pleasures, the coolness of his shades and rivers, vales and grottos, which a more Northern Poet would have omitted for the description of a sunny hill, and fire-side.

The Third *Georgic* seems to be the most laboured of them[1] all; there is a wonderful vigour and spirit in the description of the Horse and Chariot-race. The force of Love is represented in noble instances, and very sublime expressions. The *Scythian* winter-piece appears so very cold and bleak to the eye, that a man can scarce look on it without shivering. The Murrain at the end has all the expressiveness that words can give. It was here that the Poet strained hard to out-do *Lucretius* in the description of his plague, and if the reader would see what success he had, he may find it at large in *Scaliger*.

But *Virgil* seems no where so well pleased, as when he is got among his Bees in the Fourth *Georgic*: and ennobles the actions of so trivial a creature, with metaphors drawn from the most important concerns of mankind. His verses are not in a greater noise and hurry in the battels of *Æneas* and *Turnus*, than in the engagement of two swarms. And as in his *Æneis* he compares the labours of his *Trojans* to those of Bees and Pismires, here he compares the labours of the Bees to those of the *Cyclops*. In short, the last *Georgic* was a good prelude to the *Æneis*; and very well shewed what the Poet could do in the description of what was really great, by his describing the mock-grandeur of an

[1] them] 'em, 1697, 1709, 1716.

Insect with so good a grace. There is more pleasantness in the little platform of a garden, which he gives us about the middle of this book, than in all the spacious walks and water-works of *Rapin*.[1] The speech of *Proteus* at the end can never be enough admired, and was indeed very fit to conclude so divine a work.

After this particular account of the Beauties in the *Georgics*, I should in the next place endeavour to point out its Imperfections, if it has any. But though I think there are some few parts in it that are not so beautiful as the rest, I shall not presume to name them, as rather suspecting my own judgment, than I can believe a fault to be in that Poem, which lay so long under *Virgil*'s correction, and had his last hand put to it. The first *Georgic* was probably burlesqued in the Author's life-time; for we still find in the Scholiasts a verse that ridicules part of a line translated from *Hesiod. Nudus ara, sere nudus*——And we may easily guess at the judgment of this extraordinary Critick, whoever he was, from his censuring this particular precept. We may be sure *Virgil* would not have translated it from *Hesiod*, had he not discovered some beauty in it; and indeed the beauty of it is what I have before observed to be frequently met with in *Virgil*, the delivering the precept so indirectly, and singling out the particular circumstance of sowing and plowing Naked, to suggest to us that these employments are proper only in the Hot season of the year.

I shall not here compare the stile of the *Georgics* with that of *Lucretius*, which the reader may see already done in the preface to the second volume of *Miscellany Poems*; but shall conclude this Poem to be the most complete, elaborate, and finisht piece of all Antiquity. The *Æneis* indeed is of a Nobler kind, but the *Georgic* is more Perfect in its kind. The *Æneis*[2] has a greater variety of beauties in it, but those of the *Georgic* are more exquisite. In short, the *Georgic* has all the perfection that can be expected in a Poem written by the greatest Poet in the flower of his age, when his invention was ready, his imagination warm, his judgment settled, and all his faculties in their full vigour and maturity.

[1] *Rapin*] *Rapin*'s, 1697, 1709; *Rapine*'s, 1716.
[2] *Æneis*] *Æneid*, 1697.

Text: from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), collated with the first (1705) and second (1718) editions.

The drawings of medals, which in the original editions (including Tickell's) appear in the text, are in this edition printed separately on a smaller scale. Marginal references to the plates have been added.

Remarks on Italy was first printed in 1705. A second, revised edition was published in 1718. No other edition appeared until Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), where the text of 1718 was followed generally, but not in detail.

REMARKS

ON SEVERAL

PARTS

OF

ITALY, &c.

In the YEARS 1701, 1702, 1703.

Verum ergo id est, si quis in cœlum ascendisset, naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quæ jucundissima fuisset, si aliquem cui narraret habuisset. Cicer. de Amic.

To the Right Honourable

JOHN Lord *SOMERS*,[1]

Baron of *EVESHAM*.

My LORD,

THERE is a Pleasure in owning Obligations which it is an Honour to have received, but should I publish any Favours done me by Your Lordship, I am afraid it would look more like Vanity than Gratitude.

I had a very early Ambition to recommend my self to Your Lordship's Patronage, which yet encreased in me as I Travelled through the Countries, of which I here give Your Lordship some Account: For whatever great Impressions an *Englishman* must have of Your Lordship, they who have been conversant Abroad will find them [2] still improved. It cannot [3] but be obvious to them, that though they see Your Lordship's Admirers every where, they meet with very few of Your Wellwishers at *Paris* or at *Rome*. And I could not but observe when I passed through most of the Protestant Governments in *Europe*, that their Hopes or Fears for the Common Cause rose or fell with Your Lordship's Interest and Authority in *England*.

I here present Your Lordship with the Remarks that I made in a Part of these my Travels; wherein, notwithstanding the Variety of the Subject, I am very sensible

[1] *SOMERS*] Sommers, 1705, 1718.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705.

that I offer nothing New to Your Lordship, and can have no other Design in this Address, than to declare that I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obliged, and

most Obedient Humble Servant,

J. ADDISON.

PREFACE.

THERE is certainly no place in the world where a man may travel with greater pleasure and advantage than in Italy. *One finds something more particular in the face of the country, and more astonishing in the works of Nature, than can be met with in any other part of* Europe. *It is the great school of Musick and Painting, and contains in it all the noblest productions of Statuary and Architecture both ancient and modern. It abounds with cabinets of Curiosities, and vast collections of all kinds of Antiquities. No other country in the world has such a variety of Governments, that are so different in their Constitutions and so refined in their Politicks. There is scarce any part of the nation that is not famous in History, nor so much as a mountain or river that has not been the scene of some extraordinary action.*

As there are few men that have talents or opportunities for examining so copious a subject, one may observe among those who have written on Italy, *that different Authors have succeeded best on different sorts of Curiosities. Some have been more particular in their accounts of Pictures, Statues and Buildings; some have searched into Libraries, cabinets of Rarities, and collections of Medals, as others have been wholly taken up with Inscriptions, Ruines and Antiquities. Among the Authors of our own country, we are obliged to the Bishop of* Salisbury, *for his masterly and uncommon observations on the Religion and Governments of* Italy: Lassels *may be useful in giving us the names of such Writers as have treated of the several States through which he passed: Mr.* Ray *is to be valued for his Observations on the Natural productions of the place. Monsieur* Misson *has wrote a more correct account of* Italy *in general than any before him,*

as he particularly excells in the Plan of the country, which he has given us in true and lively colours.

There are still several of these Topicks that are far from being exhausted, as there are many new subjects that a Traveller may find to employ himself upon. For my own part, as I have taken notice of several Places and Antiquities that no body else has spoken of, so, I think, I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either set in a new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care particularly to consider the several passages of the ancient Poets, which have any relation to the Places and[1] *Curiosities that I met with; For before I entered on my voyage I took care to refresh my memory among the* Classic *Authors, and to make such collections out of them*[2] *as I might afterwards have occasion for. I must confess it was not one of the least entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine these several Descriptions, as it were, upon the spot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the Landskips that the Poets have given us of it. However, to avoid the confusion that might arise from a multitude of quotations, I have only cited such verses as have given us some Image of the place, or that have something else besides the bare Name of it to recommend them.*[2]

[1] and] or, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.

MONACO, GENOA, &c.

ON the twelfth of *December*, 1699, I set out from *Marseilles* to *Genoa* in a Tartane, and arrived late at a small *French* Port called *Cassis*, where the next morning we were not a little surprized to see the[1] mountains about the town covered with green Olive-trees, or laid out in beautiful Gardens, which[2] gave us a great variety of pleasing prospects, even in the depth of winter. The most uncultivated of them produce[3] abundance of sweet plants, as Wild-Time,[4] Lavender, Rosemary, Balme and Mirtle. We were here shown at a distance the Desarts, which[5] have been rendred so famous by the Penance of *Mary Magdalene*, who, after her arrival with *Lazarus* and *Joseph* of *Arimathea* at *Marseilles*, is said to have wept away the rest of her life among these solitary rocks and mountains. It is so Romantic a scene, that it has always probably given occasion to such Chimerical relations; for it is[6] perhaps of this place that *Claudian* speaks, in the following description.

Est locus extremum pandit qua Gallia littus
Oceani prætentus aquis, quà fertur Ulysses
Sanguine libato populum movisse Silentûm,
Illic Umbrarum tenui stridore volantûm
Flebilis auditur questus; simulachra coloni
Pallida defunctasque vident migrare figuras, &c. Cl. In. Ruf. L. 1.

[1] see the] see all the, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them produce] 'em bear, 1705.
[4] plants, as Wild-Time] Plants, that rise naturally. I pluck'd above Five different Sorts that grew within a Yard of each other, as Wild-Time, . . . 1705.
[5] which] that, 1705.
[6] it is] 'tis, 1705.

A place there lyes on *Gallia*'s utmost bounds,
Where rising seas insult the frontier grounds.
Ulysses here the blood of victims shed,
And rais'd the pale assembly of the dead:
Oft in the winds is heard a plaintive sound
Of melancholy ghosts, that hover round;
The lab'ring plow-man oft with horror spies
Thin airy shapes, that o'er the furrows rise,
(A dreadful scene!) and skim before his eyes.

I know there is nothing more undetermined among the Learned than the Voyage of *Ulysses*; some confining it to the Mediterranean, others extending it to the great Ocean, and others ascribing it to[1] a world of the Poet's own making; though his conversations with the dead are generally supposed to have been in the *Narbon Gaul.*

Incultos adiit Læstrigonas Antiphatenque, &c.
Atque hæc ceu[2] *nostras intersunt cognita terras,*
Fabula sive novum dedit his erroribus orbem. Tib. L. 4. El. 1.

Uncertain whether, by the winds convey'd,
On real seas to real shores he stray'd;
Or, by the fable driven from coast to coast,
In new imaginary worlds was lost.

The next day we again set sail, and made the best of our way 'till we were forced, by contrary winds, into St. *Remo*, a very pretty town in the *Genoese* dominions. The front to the sea is not large, but there are a great many houses behind it, built up the side of the mountain to avoid the winds and vapours that come from sea. We here saw several persons, that in the midst of *December* had nothing over their shoulders but their shirts, without complaining of the cold. It is certainly very lucky for the poorer sort, to be born in a place that is free from the greatest inconvenience, to which those of our northern nations are subject; and indeed without this natural benefit of their climates, the extreme misery and poverty that are in most of the *Italian* governments would be insupportable. There are

[1] others ascribing it to] others to, 1705.
[2] *ceu*] *seu*, 1705.

at St. *Remo* many plantations of Palm-trees, though they do not grow[1] in other parts of *Italy*. We sailed from hence directly for *Genoa*, and had a fair wind that carried us into the middle of the gulf, which is very remarkable for tempests and scarcity of fish. It is probable one may be the cause of the other, whether it be that the fisher-men cannot[2] employ their art with so much success in so troubled a sea, or that the fish do not[3] care for inhabiting such stormy waters.

———————*Atrum*
Defendens pisces hyemat mare—— Hor. Sa. 2. li. 2.

While black with storms the ruffled ocean rolls,
And from the fisher's art defends her finny sholes.

We were forced to lye in it two days, and our Captain thought his Ship in so great danger, that he fell upon his knees and confess'd himself to a Capuchin who was on board with us. But at last, taking the advantage of a side-wind, we were driven back in a few hours time as far as *Monaco*. *Lucan* has given us a description of the Harbour that we found so very welcome to us, after the great danger we[4] had escaped.

Quàque sub Herculeo sacratus nomine portus
Urget rupe cavâ pelagus : non Corus in illum
Jus habet aut Zephyrus : Solus sua littora turbat
Circius, et tutâ prohibet statione Monæci. Lib. 1.

The winding rocks a spacious harbour frame,
That from the great *Alcides* takes its name :
Fenc'd to the west, and to the north it lyes ;
But when the winds in southern quarters rise,
Ships, from their anchors torn, become their sport,
And sudden tempests rage within the port.

On the Promontory where[5] the town of *Monaco* now

[1] though they do not grow] that don't grow, 1705; that do not grow, 1718.
[2] cannot] can't, 1705. [3] do not] don't, 1705. [4] we] that we, 1705.
[5] Promontory where] Promontory, where, 1705.

stands, was formerly the temple of *Hercules Monœcus*, which still gives the name to this small Principality.

Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monæci
Descendens.——————— Virg. Æn. 6.

There are but three towns in the dominions of the Prince of *Monaco*. The chief of them [1] is situate on a rock which [2] runs out into the sea, and is well fortified by nature. It was formerly under the protection of the *Spaniard*, but not many years since drove out the *Spanish* garrison, and received a *French* one, which consists at present of five hundred men, paid and officer'd by the *French* King. The officer who [3] showed me the Palace told me,[4] with a great deal of gravity, that his master and the King of *France*, amidst all the confusions of *Europe*, had ever been good friends and allies. The palace has handsome apartments, that are many of them [1] hung with pictures of the reigning Beauties in the court of *France*. But the best of the furniture was at *Rome*, where the Prince of *Monaco* resided at that time ambassador. We here took a little boat to creep along the sea-shore as far as *Genoa*; but at *Savona*, finding the sea too rough, we were forced to make the best of our way by land, over very rugged mountains and precipices: For this road is much more difficult than that over mount *Cennis*.

The *Genoese* are esteemed extremely cunning, industrious, and inur'd to hardship above the rest of the *Italians*; which was likewise the character of the old *Ligurians*. And indeed it is [5] no wonder, while the Barrenness of their country continues, that the Manners of the inhabitants do not [6] change: Since there is nothing makes men sharper, and sets their hands and wits more at work than Want. The *Italian* proverb says of the *Genoese*, that they have *a sea without fish, land without trees, and men without faith.*[7] The character the [8] *Latin* poets have given of them [1] is not much different.

Assuetumque malo Ligurem Virg. G. 2.

The hard *Ligurians*, a laborious kind.

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705. [3] who] that, 1705.
[4] told me] said, 1705. [5] it is] 'tis, 1705. [6] do not] don't, 1705.
[7] *Not in italics in* 1705. [8] the] that the, 1705.

———*Pernix Ligur.* Sil. It. El.[1] 8.
Fallaces Ligures. Aus. Eid. 12.
Apenninicolæ bellator filius Auni
Haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant. Æn. 11.

Yet, like a true *Ligurian*, born to cheat,
(At least whilst Fortune favour'd his deceit.)

Vane Ligur, frustraque animis elate superbis,
Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes. Id.

Vain fool and coward, cries the lofty maid,
Caught in the train which thou thy self hast laid.
On others practise thy *Ligurian* arts;
Thin stratagems, and tricks of little hearts
Are lost on me; nor shalt thou safe retire,
With vaunting lies to thy fallacious sire. *Dryden.*

There are a great many beautiful palaces standing along the sea-shore on both sides of *Genoa*, which [2] make the town appear much longer than it is, to those that sail by it. The City it self makes the noblest show of any in the world. The houses are most of them [3] painted on the outside; so that they look extreamly gay and lively, besides that they are esteemed the highest in *Europe*, and stand very thick together. The New-street is a double range of palaces from one end to the other, built with an excellent fancy, and fit for the greatest Princes to inhabit. I cannot however be reconciled to their manner of painting several of the *Genoese* houses. Figures, perspectives, or pieces of history are certainly very ornamental, as they are drawn on many of the walls, that would otherwise look too naked and uniform without them [3]: But instead of these, one often sees the front of a palace covered with painted pillars of different orders. If these were so many true columns of marble, set in their proper architecture, they would certainly very much adorn the places where they stand, but as they are now, they only shew us that there is something wanting, and that the palace, which without these counterfeit pillars would be beautiful in its kind, might have been more perfect by the addition of such as

[1] El.] L. 1705. [2] which] that, 1705. [3] them] 'em, 1705.

are real. The front of the *Villa Imperiale*, at a mile distance from *Genoa*, without any thing of this paint upon it, consists of a *Doric* and *Corinthian* row of pillars, and is much the handsomest of any I saw there. The Duke of *Doria*'s palace has the best outside of any in *Genoa*, as that of *Durazzo* is the best furnished within. There is one room in the first, that is hung with tapestry, in which are wrought the figures of the great persons, that the family has produced; as perhaps there is no house in *Europe*, that can show a longer line of heroes, that have still acted for the good of their country. *Andrew Doria* has a statue erected to him at the entrance of the Doge's palace, with the glorious title of Deliverer of the commonwealth; and one of his family another, that calls him its Preserver. In the Doge's palace, are the rooms, where the great and little Council with the two Colleges hold their assemblies; but as the State of *Genoa* is very poor, tho' several of its Members are extreamly rich, so one may observe infinitely more splendor and magnificence in particular persons houses, than in those that belong to the publick. But we find in most of the states of *Europe*, that the people show the greatest marks of poverty, where the governors live in the greatest magnificence. The churches are very fine, particularly that of the Annunciation, which looks wonderfully beautiful in the inside, all but one corner of it being covered with statues, gilding, and paint. A man would expect, in so very ancient a town of *Italy*, to find some considerable antiquities; but all they have to show of this nature is an old *Rostrum* of a *Roman* ship, that stands over the door of their arsenal. It is not above a foot long, and perhaps would never have been thought the beak of a ship, had not it been found in so probable a place as the haven. It is all of Iron, fashioned at the end like a Boar's head; as I have seen it represented on medals, and on the *Columna Rostrata* in *Rome*. I saw at *Genoa* Signior *Micconi*'s famous collection of shells, which, as Father *Buonani* the Jesuite has since told me, is one of the best in *Italy*. I know nothing more remarkable, in the government of *Genoa*, than the Bank of St. *George*, made up of such branches of the revenues, as have been set apart, and appropriated to the

discharging of several sums, that have been borrowed from private persons, during the exigencies of the commonwealth. Whatever inconveniencies the state has laboured under, they have never entertained a thought of violating the publick credit, or of alienating any part of these revenues to other uses, than to what they have been thus assigned. The administration of this bank is for life, and partly in the hands of the chief citizens, which gives them a great authority in the state, and a powerful influence over the common people. This bank is generally thought the greatest load on the *Genoese*, and the managers of it have been represented as a second kind of Senate, that break the Uniformity of government, and destroy, in some measure, the Fundamental constitution of the state. It is however very certain, that the people reap no small advantages from it, as it distributes the power among more particular members of the republick, and gives the commons a figure: So that it is no small Check upon the Aristocracy, and may be one reason, why the *Genoese* Senate carries it with greater moderation towards their subjects, than the *Venetian*.

It would have been well for the republick of *Genoa*, if she had followed the example of her sister of *Venice*, in not permitting her Nobles to make any purchase of lands or houses in the dominions of a foreign prince. For at present the Greatest, among the *Genoese*, are in part subjects to the monarchy of *Spain*, by reason of their estates that lye in the kingdom of *Naples*. The *Spaniards* tax them[1] very high upon occasion, and are so sensible of the advantage this gives them[1] over the republick, that they will not suffer a *Neapolitan* to buy the lands of a *Genoese*, who must find a purchaser among his own countrymen, if he has a mind to sell. For this reason, as well as on account of the great sums of mony which the *Spaniard* owes the *Genoese*, they are under a necessity, at present, of being in the interest of the *French*, and would probably continue so, though all the other States of *Italy* entered into a league against them.[1] *Genoa* is not yet secure from a Bombardment, though it is not so exposed as formerly; for, since the Insult of the *French*, they have

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

built a mole, with some little ports, and have provided themselves with long guns and mortars. It is easie for those that are strong at sea to bring them[1] to what terms they please; for having but very little arable land, they are forced to fetch all their corn from *Naples*, *Sicily*, and other foreign countries; except what comes to them[1] from *Lombardy*, which probably goes another way, whilst it furnishes two great armies with provisions. Their Fleet, that formerly gained so many victories over the *Saracens*, *Pisans*, *Venetians*, *Turks* and *Spaniards*, that made them[1] masters of *Crete*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Negrepont*, *Lesbos*, *Malta*, that settled them[1] in *Scio*, *Smyrna*, *Achaia*, *Theodosia*, and several towns on the eastern confines of *Europe*, is now reduced to six gallies. When they had made an addition of but four new ones, the King of *France* sent his orders to suppress them, telling the republick at the same time, that he knew very well how many they had occasion for. This little fleet serves only to fetch them[1] wine and corn, and to give their ladies an airing in the summer-season. The republick of *Genoa* has a crown and sceptre for its Doge, by reason of their conquest of *Corsica*, where there was formerly a *Saracen* King. This indeed gives their ambassadors a more honourable reception at some courts, but, at the same time, may teach their people to have a mean notion of their own form of government, and is a tacit acknowledgment that Monarchy is the more honourable. The old *Romans*, on the contrary, made use of a very barbarous kind of politicks to inspire their people with a contempt of Kings, whom they treated with infamy, and dragged at the wheels of their triumphal chariots.

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

PAVIA, MILAN, &c.

FROM *Genoa* we took chaise for *Milan*, and by the way stopped at *Pavia*, that was once the metropolis of a kingdom, but is at present a poor town. We here saw the Convent of *Austin* Monks, who about three years ago pretended to have found out the Body of the Saint, that gives the name to their Order. King *Luitprand*, whose ashes are in the same church, brought hither the corps, and was very industrious to conceal it, lest it might be abused by the barbarous nations, which at that time ravaged *Italy*. One would therefore rather wonder that it has not been found out much earlier, than that it is discovered at last. The Fathers however do not[1] yet find their account in the discovery they have made; for there are Canons regular, who have half the same Church in their hands, that will by no means allow it to be the Body of the Saint, nor is it yet recognized by the Pope. The Monks say for themselves, that the very Name was written on the Urn where the ashes lay, and that in an old record of the convent, they are said to have been interred between the very wall and the altar where they were taken up. They have already too, as the Monks told us, begun to justifie themselves by miracles. At the corner of one of the cloisters of this convent are bury'd the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, who[2] were both killed in the famous battel of *Pavia*. Their Monument was erected to them[3] by one *Charles Parker*, an Ecclesiastic, as I learned from the inscription, which I cannot[4] omit transcribing, since I have not seen it printed.

Capto a Milite Cæsareo Francisco I. Gallorum Rege in agro Papiensi Anno 1525. 23. *Feb. inter alios proceres, qui ex suis in prœlio occisi sunt, occubuerunt duo illustrissimi principes, Franciscus Dux Lotharingiæ, et Richardus de la Poole Anglus Dux Suffolciæ a Rege Tyranno Hen. VIII. pulsus regno. Quorum corpora hoc in cœnobio et ambitu per*

[1] do not] don't, 1705.
[2] who] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] cannot] can't, 1705.

annos 57. *sine honore tumulata sunt. Tandem Carolus Parker à Morley, Richardi proximus consanguineus, Regno Angliæ a Reginâ Elisabethâ ob Catholicam fidem ejectus, beneficentiâ tamen Philippi Regis Cath. Hispaniarum Monarchæ Invictissimi in Statu Mediolanensi sustentatus, hoc qualecunque monumentum, pro rerum suarum tenuitate, charissimo propinquo et illustrissimis principibus posuit,* 5. *Sept.* 1582. *et post suum exilium* 23. *majora et honorificentiora commendans Lotharingicis. Viator precare Quietem.*

This pretended Duke of *Suffolk* was Sir *Richard de la Poole*, Brother to[1] the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was put to death by *Henry* the eighth. In his banishment he took upon him the title of Duke of *Suffolk*, which had been sunk in the family ever since the attainder of the great Duke of *Suffolk* under[2] the reign of *Henry* the sixth. He fought very bravely in the battel of *Pavia*, and was magnificently interr'd by the Duke of *Bourbon*, who, tho' an enemy, assisted at his funeral in mourning.

Parker himself is bury'd in the same place with the following inscription.

D. O. M.

Carolo Parchero à Morley Anglo ex illustrissimâ clarissimâ stirpe. Qui Episcopus Des, ob fidem Catholicam actus in Exilium An. XXXI. *peregrinatus ab Invictiss. Phil. Rege Hispan. honestissimis pietatis et constantiæ præmiis ornatus moritur Anno a partu Virginis,* M. D. C. XI. *Men. Septembris.*

In *Pavia* is an university of seven colleges, one of them[3] called the college of *Borromée*, very large, and neatly built. There is lifewise a statue in brass of *Marcus Antoninus* on horseback, which the people of the place call *Charles* the fifth, and some learned men *Constantine* the Great.

Pavia is the *Ticinum* of the ancients, which took its name from the river *Ticinus* which[4] runs by it, and is[5] now called the *Tesin*. This river falls into the *Po*, and is

[1] to] of, 1705. [2] under] in, 1705. [3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705. [5] and is] and that is, 1705.

excessively rapid. The Bishop of *Salisbury* says, that he ran down with the stream thirty miles in an hour, by the help of but one rower. I do not[1] know therefore why *Silius Italicus* has represented it as so very gentle and still a river, in the beautiful description he[2] has given us of it.

Cæruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadoso
Perspicuus servat, turbari nescia, fundo,
Ac nitidum viridi lentè trahit amne liquorem;
Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
Argutos inter (volucrum certamina) cantus
Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham. L. 4.

Smooth and untroubled the *Ticinus* flows,
And through the chrystal stream the shining bottom shows;
Scarce can the sight discover if it moves;
So wond'rous slow amidst the shady groves,
And tuneful Birds that warble on its sides,
Within its gloomy banks the limpid liquor glides.

A Poet of another nation would not have dwelt so long upon the clearness and transparency of the stream, but in *Italy* one seldom sees a river that is extremely bright and limpid, most of them[3] falling down from the mountains, that make their waters very troubled and muddy, whereas the *Tesin* is only an outlet of that vast lake, which the *Italians* now call the *Lago Maggiore.*

I saw between *Pavia* and *Milan* the convent of *Carthusians*, which[4] is very spacious and beautiful. Their church is extremely fine, and curiously adorned, but of a *Gothic* structure.

I could not stay long in *Milan* without going to see the great church that I had heard so much of, but was never more deceived in my expectation than at my first entering: For the front, which was all I had seen of the outside, is not half finished, and the inside is so smutted with dust, and the smoke of lamps, that neither the marble, nor the silver, nor brassworks show themselves to an advantage. This vast *Gothic* pile of building is all of marble, except the

[1] do not] don't, 1705.
[2] description he] Description that he, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.

roof, which would have been of the same matter with the rest, had not its weight rendered it improper for that part of the building. But for the reason I have just now mentioned, the outside of the church looks much whiter and fresher than the inside; for where the marble is so often washed with rains, it preserves it self more beautiful and unsullied, than in those parts that are not at all exposed to the weather. That side of the church indeed, which faces the Tramontane wind, is much more unsightly than the rest, by reason of the dust and smoke that are driven against it. This profusion of marble, though astonishing to strangers, is not very wonderful in a country that has so many veins of it within its bowels. But though the stones are cheap, the working of them[1] is very expensive. It is generally said there are eleven thousand statues about the church, but they reckon into the account every particular figure in the history-pieces, and several little Images which[2] make up the equipage of those that are larger. There are indeed a great multitude of such as are bigger than the life: I reckoned above two hundred and fifty on the outside of the church, though I only told three sides of it; and these are not half so thick set as they intend them.[1] The statues are all of marble, and generally well cut; but the most valuable one they have is a St. *Bartholomew*, new-flead, with his skin hanging over[3] his shoulders: It is esteemed worth its weight in gold: They have inscribed this verse on the Pedestal, to show the value they have for the workman.

Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus finxit Agrati.

Lest at the sculptor doubtfully you guess,
'Tis *Marc Agrati*, not *Praxiteles*.

There is just before the entrance of the choir, a little subterraneous Chapel, dedicated to St. *Charles Borromée*, where I saw his body, in Episcopal robes, lying upon the altar in a shrine[4] of rock-chrystal. His chapel is adorned with abundance of silver work: He was but two and

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] over] o'er, 1705.
[4] shrine] Case, 1705.

twenty years old when he was chosen Arch-bishop of *Milan*, and forty six at his death; but made so good use of so short a time, by his works of charity and munificence, that his countrymen bless his memory, which is still fresh among them.[1] He was canonised about a hundred years ago: and indeed if this honour were due to any man, I think such publick-spirited virtues may lay a juster claim to it, than a sour retreat from mankind, a fiery zeal against *Heterodoxies*, a set of chimerical visions, or of whimsical penances, which[2] are generally the qualifications of *Roman* Saints. Miracles indeed are required of all who[3] aspire to this dignity, because they say an Hypocrite may imitate a Saint in all other particulars, and these they attribute in a great[4] number to him I am speaking of. His merit, and the importunity of his countrymen, procured his Canonization before the ordinary time; for it is[5] the policy of the *Roman* Church not to allow this honour, ordinarily, 'till fifty years after the death of the person, who[6] is candidate for it; in which time it may be supposed that all his contemporaries will be worn out, who[6] could contradict a pretended miracle, or remember any infirmity of the Saint. One would wonder that *Roman* Catholicks, who are for this kind of worship, do not[7] generally address themselves to the holy Apostles, who have a more unquestionable right to the title of Saints than those of a modern date; but these are at present quite out of fashion in *Italy*, where there is scarce a great town, which[2] does not pay its devotions, in a more particular manner, to some one of their own making. This renders it very suspicious, that the interests of particular families, religious orders, convents, or churches, have too great a sway in their Canonizations. When I was at *Milan* I saw a book newly published, that was dedicated to the present head of the *Borromean* family, and entitled, *A discourse on the humility of* Jesus Christ, *and of St.* Charles Borromée.

The great church of *Milan* has two noble pulpits of brass, each of them[1] running round a large pillar, like a

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] who] that, 1705.
[4] in a great] in great, 1705.
[5] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[6] who] that, 1705.
[7] do not] don't, 1705.

gallery, and supported by huge figures of the same metal. The history of our Saviour, or rather of the blessed Virgin, (for it begins with her birth, and ends with her coronation in Heaven, that of our Saviour coming in by way of *Episode*) is finely cut in marble by *Andrew Biffy*. This church is very rich in relicks, which run up as high as *Daniel*, *Jonas*, and *Abraham*. Among the rest they show a fragment of our countryman *Becket*, as indeed there are very few treasuries of relicks in *Italy* that have not a tooth or a bone of this Saint. It would be endless to count up the riches of silver, gold, and precious stones, that are amass'd together in this and several other churches of *Milan*. I was told, that in *Milan* there are sixty convents of women, eighty of men, and two hundred churches. At the *Celestines* is a picture in Fresco of the marriage of *Cana*, very much esteemed ; but the painter, whether designedly or not, has put six fingers to the hand of one of the figures : They show the gates of a church that St. *Ambrose* shut against the Emperor *Theodosius*, as thinking him unfit to assist at divine service, 'till he had done some extraordinary penance for his barbarous massacring the inhabitants of *Thessalonica*. That[1] Emperor was however so far from being displeased with the behaviour of the Saint, that at his death he committed to him the education of his children. Several have picked splinters of wood out of the gates for relicks. There is a little chapel lately re-edifyed, where the same Saint baptized St. *Austin*. An inscription upon[2] the wall of it says, that it was in this chapel and on this occasion, that he first sung his *Te Deum*, and that his great convert answered him verse by verse. In one of the churches I saw a pulpit and confessional, very finely inlaid with *Lapis-Lazuli*, and several kinds of marble, by a Father of the convent. It is very lucky for a Religious, who has so much time on his hands, to be able to amuse himself with works of this nature ; and one often finds particular members of convents, who[3] have excellent mechanical genius's, and divert themselves, at leisure hours, with Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Gardening, and several kinds of handycrafts. Since I have mentioned con-

[1] That] The, 1705. [2] upon] on, 1705. [3] who] that, 1705.

fessionals, I shall set down here some inscriptions that I have seen over them[1] in *Roman*-catholick countries, which are all texts of Scripture, and regard either the Penitent or the Father. *Abi, Ostende Te ad Sacerdotem——Ne taceat pupilla oculi tui———Ibo ad patrem meum et dicam, Pater peccavi———Soluta erunt in Cœlis——— Redi Anima mea in Requiem tuam——Vade, et ne deinceps pecca——Qui vos audit, me audit——Venite ad me omnes qui fatigati estis et onerati——Corripiet me justus in misericordiâ———Vide si via iniquitatis in me est, et deduc me in viâ æternâ———Ut audire gemitus compeditorum.* I saw the *Ambrosian* library, where, to show the *Italian* genius, they have spent more mony on pictures than on books. Among the heads of several learned men I met with no *Englishman*, except Bishop *Fisher*, whom *Henry* the eighth put to death for not owning his supremacy. Books are indeed the least part of the furniture that one ordinarily goes to see in an *Italian* library, which they generally set off with pictures, statues, and other ornaments, where they can afford them,[1] after the example of the old *Greeks* and *Romans*.

———————Plena omnia gypso
Chrysippi invenias: nam perfectissimus horum
Si quis Aristotelem similem vel Pittacon emit,
Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas. Juv. S. 2.

Chrysippus' statue decks thy library.
Who makes his study finest, is most read;
The dolt, that with an *Aristotle's* head
Carv'd to the life, has once adorn'd his shelf,
Strait sets up for a Stagyrite himself. *Tate.*

In an apartment behind the library are several rarities often[2] described by travellers, as *Brugeal's* elements, a head of *Titian* by his own hand, a manuscript in *Latin* of *Josephus*, which the Bishop of *Salisbury* says was written about the age of *Theodosius*, and another of *Leonardus Vincius*, which King *James* the first could not procure

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

[2] rarities often] Rarities in Painting and Sculpture, that have been often, 1705.

though he proffered for it three thousand *Spanish* Pistoles. It consists of designings in mechanism and engineering: I was shown in it a sketch of bombs and mortars, as they are now used. Canon *Settala*'s cabinet is always shown to a stranger among the curiosities of *Milan*, which I shall not be particular upon, the printed account of it being common enough. Among its natural curiosities I took particular notice of a piece of chrystal, that enclosed a couple of drops, which looked like water when they were shaken, though perhaps they are nothing but bubbles of air. It is such a rarity as this that I saw at *Vendome* in *France*, which they there pretend is a tear that our Saviour shed over *Lazarus*, and was gather'd up by an Angel, who put it in a little chrystal vial, and made a present of it to *Mary Magdalene*. The famous *Pere Mabillon* is now engaged in the vindication of this tear, which a learned ecclesiastic, in the neighbourhood of *Vendome*, would have suppressed, as a false and ridiculous relick, in a book that he has dedicated to his diocesan the Bishop of *Blois*. It is in the possession of a *Benedictin* convent, which raises a considerable revenue out of the devotion that is paid to it, and has now retained the most learned [1] Father of their order to write in its defence.

It was such a curiosity as this I have mentioned, that *Claudian* has celebrated in about half a score epigrams.

Solibus indomitum glacies Alpina rigorem
Sumebat, nimio jam preciosa gelu.
Nec potuit toto mentiri corpore gemmam,
Sed medio mansit proditor orbe latex:
Auctus honor; liquidi crescunt miracula saxi,
Et conservatæ plus meruistis aquæ.

Deep in the snowy *Alpes* a lump of Ice
By frosts was harden'd to a mighty price;
Proof to the Sun, it now securely lies,
And the warm Dog-star's hottest rage defies:
Yet still unripen'd in the dewy mines,
Within the ball a trembling water shines,

[1] the most learned] the learnedst, 1705.

That through the chrystal darts its spurious rays,
And the proud stone's original betrays;
But common drops, when thus with chrystal mixt,
Are valu'd more, than if in Rubies fixt.

As I walk'd through one of the streets of *Milan*, I was surprized to read the following inscription, concerning a Barber that had conspired with the Commissary of health and others to poison his fellow-citizens. There is a void space where his house stood, and in the midst of it a Pillar, superscribed *Colonna Infame*. The story is told in handsome *Latin*, which I shall set down, as having never seen it transcribed.

Hic, ubi hæc Area patens est,
Surgebat olim Tonstrina
Jo' Jacobi Moræ:
Qui factâ cum Gulielmo Platea publ. Sanit. Commissario
Et cum aliis Conspiratione,
Dum pestis atrox sæviret,
Lethiferis unguentis huc et illuc aspersis
Plures ad diram mortem compulit.
Hos igitur ambos, hostes patriæ judicatos,
Excelso in Plaustro
Candenti prius vellicatos forcipe
Et dexterâ mulctatos manu
Rotâ infringi
Rotæque intextos post horas sex jugulari,
Comburi deinde,
Ac, ne quid tam Scelestorum hominum reliqui sit,
Publicatis bonis
Cineres in flumen projici
Senatus jussit:
Cujus rei memoria æterna ut sit,
Hanc domum, Sceleris officinam,
Solo æquari,
Ac nunquam in posterum refici,
Et erigi Columnam,
Quæ vocatur Infamis,
Idem ordo mandavit.
Procul hinc procul ergo
Boni Cives,

Ne Vos Infelix Infame solum
Commaculet !
M. D. C. xxx. *Kal. Augusti.*
Præside Pub. Sanitatis M. Antonio Montio Senatore R. Justitiæ Cap.
Jo. Baptistâ Vicecomit.[1]

The citadel of *Milan* is thought a strong fort [2] in *Italy*, and has held out formerly after the conquest of the rest of the dutchy.[3] The governor of it is independent on the governor of *Milan*; as the *Persians* used to make the rulers of provinces and fortresses of different conditions and interests, to prevent conspiracies.

At two miles distance from *Milan* there stands a building, that would have been a master-piece in its kind, had the architect designed it for an artificial echo. We discharged a pistol, and had the sound returned upon us above fifty six times, though the air was very foggy. The first repetitions follow one another very thick, but are heard more distinctly in proportion as they decay: There are two parallel walls which [4] beat the sound back on each other, 'till the undulation is quite worn out, like the several reverberations of the same image from two opposite looking-glasses. Father *Kircher* has taken notice of this particular echo, as Father *Bartolin* has done since in his ingenious discourse on sounds. The state of *Milan* is like a vast garden, surrounded by a noble mound-work of rocks and mountains: Indeed if a man considers the face of *Italy* in general, one would think that nature had laid it out into such a variety of states and governments as one finds in it. For as the *Alpes* at one end, and the long range of *Appenines*, that passes through the body of it, branch out on all sides into several different divisions; they serve as so many natural boundaries and fortifications to the little territories that lye among them.[5] Accordingly we find the whole country cut into a multitude of particular kingdoms and common-wealths in the oldest accounts we have of it; 'till the power of the *Romans*, like a torrent

[1] *Vicecomit.*] *Vicecomi.* 1705.
[2] a strong fort] a Noble Fortification, 1705.
[3] conquest . . . dutchy] Conquest of the whole Dutchy, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.
[5] them] 'em, 1705.

that overflows its banks, bore down all before it, and spread it self into the remotest corners of the nation. But as this exorbitant power became unable to support it self, we find the government of *Italy* again broken into such a variety of sub-divisions, as naturally suits with its situation.

In the court of *Milan*, as in several others in[1] *Italy*, there are many who fall in with the dress and carriage of the *French*. One may however observe a kind of awkwardness in the *Italians*, which[2] easily discovers the airs they give themselves not to be natural. It is indeed very strange there[3] should be such a diversity of manners, where there is so small a difference in the air and climate. The *French* are always open, familiar and talkative: The *Italians*, on the contrary, are stiff, ceremonious and reserved. In *France* every one aims at a gaiety and sprightliness of behaviour, and thinks it an accomplishment to be brisk and lively: The *Italians*, notwithstanding their natural fieriness of temper, affect always to appear sober and sedate; insomuch that one sometimes meets young men walking the streets with spectacles on their noses, that they may be thought to have impaired their sight by much study, and seem more grave and judicious than their neighbours. This difference of manners proceeds chiefly from difference of education: In *France* it is usual to bring their children into company, and to cherish in them,[4] from their infancy, a kind of forwardness and assurance: Besides, that the *French* apply themselves more universally to their exercises than any other nation in the world, so that one seldom sees a young Gentleman in *France* that does not fence, dance, and ride in some tolerable perfection. These agitations of the body do not[5] only give them[4] a free and easie carriage, but have a kind of mechanical operation on the mind, by keeping the animal spirits always awake and in motion. But what[6] contributes most to this light airy humour of the *French*, is the free conversation that is allowed them[4] with their women, which does not only communicate to them[4] a

[1] in] of, 1705, 1718.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] strange there] strange that there, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.
[5] do not] don't, 1705.
[6] what] that which, 1705.

certain vivacity of temper, but makes them[1] endeavour after such a behaviour as is most taking with the sex.

The *Italians*, on the contrary, who[2] are excluded from making their court this way, are for recommending themselves to those they converse with by their gravity and wisdom. In *Spain* therefore, where there are fewer liberties of this nature allowed, there is something still more serious and composed in the manner of the inhabitants. But as Mirth is more apt to make proselytes than Melancholy, it is observed that the *Italians* have many of them[1] for these late years given very far into the modes and freedoms of the *French*; which prevail more or less in the courts of *Italy*, as they lye at a smaller or greater distance from *France*. It may be here worth while to consider how it comes to pass, that the common people of *Italy* have in general so very great an aversion to the *French*, which every traveller cannot but be sensible of, that has passed through the country. The most obvious reason is certainly the great difference that there is in the humours and manners of the two nations, which always works more in[3] the meaner sort, who are not able to vanquish the prejudices of education, than with the nobility. Besides, that the *French* humour, in regard of the liberties they take in female conversations, and their great ambition to excel in all companies, is in a more particular manner very shocking to the *Italians*, who[4] are naturally jealous, and value themselves upon their great wisdom. At the same time the common people of *Italy*, who run more into news and politicks than those of other countries, have all of them[1] something to exasperate them[1] against the King of *France*. The *Savoyards*, notwithstanding the present inclinations of their court, cannot forbear resenting the infinite mischiefs he did them[5] in the last war. The *Milanese* and *Neapolitans* remember the many insults he[6] has offered to the house of *Austria*, and particularly to their deceased King, for whom they still retain a natural

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] who] that, 1705.
[3] works more in] weighs more with, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.
[5] cannot forbear resenting . . . he did them] can't forbear Cursing him for the infinite Mischiefs that he did 'em, 1705.
[6] insults he] Insults that he, 1705.

kind of honour and affection. The *Genoese* cannot forget his treatment[1] of their Doge, and his bombarding their city. The *Venetians* will tell you of his leagues with the *Turks*; and the *Romans*, of his threats to Pope *Innocent* the eleventh, whose memory they adore. It is true, that[2] interest of state, and change of circumstances, may have sweetened these reflections to the politer sort, but impressions are not so easily worn out of the minds of the vulgar. That however, which I take to be the principal motive among most of the *Italians*, for their favouring the *Germans* above the *French*, is this, that they are entirely persuaded it is for the interest of *Italy*, to have *Milan* and *Naples* rather in the hands of the first than of the other. One may generally[3] observe, that the body of a people has juster views for the publick good, and pursues them[4] with greater uprightness than the nobility and gentry, who have so many private expectations and particular interests, which[5] hang like a false biass upon their judgments, and may possibly dispose them[4] to sacrifice the good of their country to the advancement of their own fortunes; whereas the gross of the people can have no other prospect in changes and revolutions, than of publick blessings, that are to diffuse themselves through the whole state in general.

To return to *Milan:* I shall here set down the description *Ausonius*[6] has given of it, among the rest of his great cities.

Et Mediolani mira omnia, copia rerum:
Innumeræ cultæque domus, facunda virorum
Ingenia, et mores læti. Tum duplice muro
Amplificata loci species, populique voluptas
Circus, et inclusi moles cuneata theatri:
Templa, Palatinæque arces, opulensque Moneta,
Et regio Herculei celebris ab honore lavacri,
Cunctaque marmoreis ornata peristyla signis,

[1] *Genoese* . . . treatment] *Genoese* must always resent at their Hearts his Treatment, 1705.
[2] that] the, 1705.
[3] generally] sometimes, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.
[5] which] that, 1705.
[6] description *Ausonius*] Description that *Ausonius*, 1705.

Omnia quæ magnis operum velut æmula formis
Excellunt; nec juncta premit vicinia Romæ.

Milan with plenty and with wealth o'er-flows,
And num'rous streets and cleanly dwellings shows;
The people, bless'd with nature's happy force,
Are eloquent and chearful in discourse;
A *circus* and a theatre invites
Th' unruly mob to races and to fights.
Moneta consecrated buildings grace,
And the whole town redoubled walls embrace:
Here spacious baths and palaces are seen,
And intermingled temples rise between;
Here circling colonnades the ground enclose,
And here the marble statues breathe in rows:
Profusely graced the happy town appears,
Nor *Rome* it self, her beauteous neighbour, fears.

BRESCIA, VERONA, PADUA.

FROM *Milan* we travelled through a very pleasant country, to *Brescia*, and by the way crossed the river *Adda*, that falls into the *Lago di Como*, which *Virgil* calls the lake *Larius*, and running out at the other end loses it self at last in the *Po*, which is the great receptacle of all the rivers of this country. The town and province of *Brescia* have freer access to the Senate of *Venice*, and a quicker redress of injuries, than any other part of their dominions. They have always a mild and prudent governor, and live much more happily[1] than their fellow-subjects: For as they were once a part of the *Milanese*, and are now on their frontiers, the *Venetians* dare not exasperate them,[2] by the loads they lay on other Provinces, for fear of a revolt; and are forced to treat them[2] with

[1] happily] happy, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.

much more indulgence than the *Spaniards* do their neighbours, that they may have no temptation to it. *Brescia* is famous for its iron-works. A small day's journey more brought us to *Verona*. We saw the lake *Benacus* in our way, which the *Italians* now call *Lago di Garda :* It was so rough with tempests when we passed by it, that it brought into my mind *Virgil*'s noble description of it.

Adde lacus tantos, te Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.

Here vex'd by[1] winter storms *Benacus* raves,
Confus'd with working sands and rolling waves;
Rough and tumultuous like a sea it lyes,
So loud the tempest roars, so high the billows rise.

This lake perfectly resembles a sea, when it is worked up by storms. It is thirty five miles in length, and twelve in breadth. At the lower end of it we crossed the *Mincio*.

———Tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas. G. 3.

Where the slow *Mincius* through the valley strays:
Where cooling streams invite the flocks to drink,
And reeds defend the winding waters brink. *Dryden.*[2]

The river *Adige* runs through *Verona*; so much is the situation of the Town changed from what it was in *Silius Italicus* his time.

——Verona Athesi circumflua. L. 8.

Verona by the circling *Adige* bound.

This is the only great river in *Lombardy* that does not fall into the *Po*; which it must have done, had it run but a little further before its entering the *Adriatic*. The rivers are all of them[3] mentioned by *Claudian*.

———Venetosque erectior amnes
Magnâ voce ciet. Frondentibus humida ripis

[1] by] with, 1705.
[2] *Dryden*] Not in 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.

Colla levant, pulcher Ticinus, et Addua[1] *visu*
Cærulus, et velox Athesis, tardusque meatu
Mincius, inque novem consurgens ora Timavus. Sexto con. Hon.

Venetia's rivers, summon'd all around,
Hear the loud call, and answer to the sound:
Her dropping locks the silver *Tessin* rears,
The blue transparent *Adda* next appears,
The rapid *Adige* then erects her head,
And *Mincio* rising slowly from his bed,
And last *Timavus* that with eager force
From nine wide mouths comes gushing to his course.

His *Larius* is doubtless an imitation of *Virgil*'s *Benacus*.

——*Umbrosâ vestit qua littus olivâ*
Larius, et dulci mentitur Nerea fluctu. De Bel. Get.[2]

The *Larius* here, with groves of olives crown'd,
An ocean of fresh water spreads around.

I saw at *Verona* the famous Amphitheater, that with a few modern reparations has all the seats entire. There is something very noble in it, though the high wall and corridors that went round it are almost entirely ruined, and the Area is quite filled up to the lower seat, which was formerly deep enough to let the spectators see in safety the combats of the wild beasts and gladiators. Since I have *Claudian* before me, I cannot[3] forbear setting down the beautiful[4] description he has made of a wild beast newly brought from the woods, and making its first appearance in a full Amphitheater.

Ut fera quæ nuper montes amisit avitos,
Altorumque exul nemorum, damnatur arenæ
Muneribus, commota ruit; vir murmure contra
Hortatur, nixusque genu venabula tendit;
Illa pavet strepitus, cuneosque erecta Theatri
Despicit, et tanti miratur sibila vulgi. In. Ruf. L. 2.

[1] *Addua*] Adula, 1705.
[2] Get.] Gat. 1705.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705.
[4] beautiful] Noble, 1705.

So rushes on his foe the grisly Bear,
That, banish'd from the hills and bushy brakes,
His old hereditary haunts forsakes.
Condemn'd the cruel rabble to delight,
His angry keeper goads him to the fight.
Bent on his knee, the savage glares around,
Scar'd with the mighty croud's promiscuous sound;
Then rearing on his hinder paws retires,
And the vast hissing multitude admires.

There are some other antiquities in *Verona*, of which the principal is the ruine of a triumphal arch erected to *Flaminius*, where one sees old *Doric* Pillars without any pedestal or basis, as *Vitruvius* has described them.[1] I have not yet seen any gardens in *Italy* worth taking notice of. The *Italians* fall as far short of the *French* in this particular, as they excel them [1] in their palaces. It must however be said, to the honour of the *Italians*, that the *French* took from them the first plans of their gardens, as well as of their [2] water-works; so that their surpassing of them at present is to be attributed rather to the greatness of their riches, than the excellence of their taste.[3] I saw [4] the terrace-garden of *Verona*, that travellers generally mention. Among the churches of *Verona*, that of St. *George* is the handsomest: Its chief [5] ornament is the martyrdom of the Saint, drawn by *Paul Veronese*; as there are many other pictures about the town by the same hand. A stranger is always shown the Tomb of Pope *Lucius*, who lyes buried in the dome. I saw in the same church a monument erected by the publick to one of their Bishops: The inscription says, that there was between him and his maker,[6] *Summa Necessitudo, Summa Similitudo.* The *Italian* epitaphs [7] are often more extravagant than those of other countries, as the nation is more given to compliment and hyperbole. From *Verona* to *Padua* we travelled through a very pleasant country: It is planted thick with rows of white Mulberry-trees, that furnish food for great quantities of Silk-worms with their leaves, as the Swine

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] as of their] as their, 1705. [3] taste] *Gusto*, 1705.
[4] I saw] I went to see, 1705. [5] chief] chiefest, 1705.
[6] maker] God, 1705. [7] epitaphs] Tombstones, 1705.

and Poultry consume the fruit. The trees themselves serve, at the same time, as so many stays for their Vines, which[1] hang all along like garlands[2] from tree to tree. Between the several ranges lye fields of corn, which[3] in these warm countries ripens much better among the mulberry shades, than if it were exposed to the open sun. This was one reason why the inhabitants of this country, when I passed through it, were extremely apprehensive of seeing *Lombardy* the seat of war, which must have made miserable havock among their plantations; for it is[4] not here as in the corn fields of *Flanders*, where the whole product of the place rises from year to year. We arrived so late at *Vicenza*, that we had not time to take a full sight of the place. The next day brought us to *Padua*. St. *Anthony*, who lived above[5] five hundred years ago, is the great Saint to whom they here pay their devotions. He lyes buried in the church that is dedicated to him at present, though it was formerly consecrated to the blessed Virgin. It[6] is extremely magnificent, and very richly adorned. There are narrow clefts in the monument that stands over him, where good Catholicks rub their beads, and smell his bones, which they say have in them[7] a natural perfume, though very like apoplectic balsom; and what would make one suspect that they rub the marble with it, it is observed that the scent is stronger in the morning than at night. There are abundance of inscriptions and pictures hung up by his Votaries in several parts of the church: For it is[8] the way of those that are in any signal danger to implore his aid, and if they come off safe they call their deliverance a miracle, and perhaps hang up the picture or description of it in the church. This custom spoils[9] the beauty of several *Roman* Catholick churches, and often covers the walls with wretched daubings, impertinent inscriptions, hands, legs, and arms of wax, with a thousand idle offerings of the same nature.

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] garlands] Ropes, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[5] above] about, 1705, 1718.
[6] Virgin. It] Virgin, which, 1705.
[7] them] 'em, 1705.
[8] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[9] This custom spoils] This spoils, 1705.

They sell at *Padua* the life of St. *Anthony*, which[1] is read with great devotion; the most remarkable part of it is his discourse to an assembly of fish. As the audience and sermon are both very extraordinary, I will set down the whole passage at length.

Non curando gli Heretici il suo parlare, egli si come era alla riva del mare, dove sbocca il fiume Marecchia, chiamò da parte di Dio li pesci, che venissero à sentir la sua santa parola. Et ecco che di subito sopra l' acque nuotando gran moltitudine di varii, et diversi pesci, e del mare, e del fiume, si unirono tutti, secondo le specie loro, e con bell ordine, quasi che di ragion capaci stati fossero, attenti, e cheti con gratioso spettacolo s'accommodaro per sentir la parola di Dio. Ciò veduto il santo entro al cuor suo di dolcezza stillandosi, et per altretanta maraviglia inarcando le ciglia, della obedientia di queste irragionevoli creature così cominciò loro à parlare. Se bene in tutte le cose create (cari, et amati pesci) si scuopre la potenza, et providenza infinita di Dio, come nel Cielo, nel Sole, nella Luna, nelle Stelle, in questo mondo inferiore, nel huomo, e nelle altre creature perfette, nondimeno in Voi particolarmente lampeggia e risplende la bontà della maestà divina; perche se bene siete chiamati Rettili, mezzi frà pietre, e bruti, confinati nelli profondi abissi delle ondeggiante acque: agitati sempre da flutti: mossi sempre da procelle; sordi al' udire, mutoli al parlare, et horridi al vedere; con tutto ciò in Voi maravigliosamente si scorge la Divina grandezza; e da voi si cavano li maggiori misterii della bontà di Dio, ne mai si parla di voi nella scrittura sacra, che non vi sia ascosto qualche profondo Sacramento; Credete voi, che sia senza grandissimo misterio, che il primo dono fatto dall' onnipotente Iddio all' huomo fosse di voi Pesci? Credete, voi che non sia misterio in questo, che di tutte le creature, e di tutti gl' animali si sien fatti sacrificii, eccetto, che di voi Pesci? Credete, che non vi sia qualche secreto in questo, che Christo nostro salvatore dall' agnelo pasquale in poi, si compiacque tanto del cibo di voi pesci? Credete, che sia à caso questo, che dovendo il Redentor del mondo, pagar, come huomo, il censo à Cesare la volesse trovare nella bocca di un pesce? Tutti, tutti sono misteri è Sacramenti: perciò siete

[1] which] that, 1705.

particolarmente obligati a lodare il vostro Creatore: amati pesci di Dio havete ricevuto l' essere, la vita, il moto, e'l senso; per stanza vi hà dato il liquido elemento dell' Acqua, secondo che alla vostra naturale inclinatione conviene: ivi hà fatti amplissimi alberghi, stanze, caverne, grotte, e secreti luogi à voi più che sale Regie, e regal Palazzi, cari, e grati; et per propria sede havete l'acqua, elemento diafano, transparente, e sempre lucido quasi cristallo, e verro; et dalle più basse, e profonde vostre stanze scorgete ciò che sopra acqua ò si fa, ò nuota; havete gli occhi quasi di Lince, ò di Argo, et da causa non crrante guidati, seguite ciò che vi giova, et aggrada; et fuggite ciò che vi nuoce, havete natural desio di conservarvi secondo le spetie vostre, fase, oprate et caminate ove natura vi detta senza contrastro alcuno; nè algor d'inverno, nè calor di state vi offende, ò nuoce; siasi per sereno, ò turbato il cielo, che alli vostri humidi alberghi nè frutto, nè danno apporta; siasi pure abbondevole de suoi tesori, ò scarsa de suoi frutti la terra, che a voi nulla giova; piova, tuoni, saetti, lampaggi, è subissi il mondo, che a voi ciò poco importa; verdeggi primavera, scaldi la state, fruttifichi l'Autunno, et assideri li inverno, questo non vi rileva punto: ne trappassar del' hore nè correr de giorni, nè volar de mesi, ne fuggir d' anni, ne mutar de tempi, ne cangiar de stagioni vi dan pensiero alcuno, ma sempre sicura, et tranquilla vita lietamente vivere: O quanto, o quanto grande la Maestà di Dio in voi si scuopre, O quanto[1] *mirabile la potenza sua; O quanto stupenda, et maravigliosa sua*[2] *providenza; poi che frà tutte le creature dell' universo voi solo non sentisti il diluvio universale dell' acque; nè provasti i danni, che egli face al monde*[3]*; e tutto questo ch'io ho detto dovrebbe muovervi à lodar Dio, à ringratiare sua divina maestà di tanti e cosi singolari beneficii, che vi ha fatti, di tante gratie, che vi ha conferite, di tanti favori, di che vi ha fatti degna; per tanto, se non potete snodar la lingua à ringratiar il vostro Benefattore, et non sapete con parole esprimer le sue lodi, fatele segno di riverenza almeno; chinatevi al suo nome; mostrate nel modo che potete sembiante di gratitudine; rendetevi benevoli alla bontà sua, in quel miglior modo che potete; O*

[1] *quanto*] *quanta*, 1705.
[2] *maravigliosa sua*] *maravigliosa la sua*, 1705, 1718.
[3] *al monde*] *almondo*, 1705, 1718.

sapete, non siate sconoscenti de' suoi beneficii, et non siate ingrati de' suoi favori. A questo dire, O maraviglia grande, come si quelli pesci havessero havuto humano intelletto, e discorso, con gesti di profonda Humiltà, con riverenti sembianti di religione, chinarono la testa, blandiro co'l corpo, quasi approvando ciò che detto havea il benedetto padre S. Antonio.

" When the hereticks would not regard his preaching, " he betook himself to the sea-shore, where the river " *Marecchia* disembogues it self into the Adriatic. He " here called the fish together in the name of God, that " they might hear his holy word. The fish came swimming " towards him in such vast shoals, both from the sea and " from the river, that the surface of the water was quite " covered with their multitudes. They quickly ranged them- " selves, according to their several species, into a very beauti- " ful congregation, and, like so many rational creatures, " presented themselves before him to hear the word of " God. St. *Antonio* was so struck with the miraculous " obedience and submission of these poor animals, that " he found a secret sweetness distilling upon his soul, and " at last addressed himself to them [1] in the following words.

" Although the infinite power and providence of God " (my dearly beloved Fish) discovers it self in all the works " of his creation, as in the Heavens, in the Sun, in the " Moon, and in the Stars, in this lower World, in Man, and " in other perfect creatures; nevertheless the goodness " of the divine Majesty shines out in you more eminently, " and appears after a more particular manner, than in " any other created Beings. For notwithstanding you " are comprehended under the name of *Reptiles*, partaking " of a middle nature between stones and beasts, and " imprisoned in the deep abyss of waters; notwithstanding " you are tost among billows, thrown up and down by " tempests, deaf to hearing, dumb to speech, and terrible " to behold: notwithstanding, I say, these natural dis- " advantages, the Divine Greatness shows it self in you " after a very wonderful manner. In you are seen the " mighty mysteries of an infinite goodness. The holy " Scripture has always made use of you, as the types and " shadows of some profound Sacrament.

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

" Do you think that, without a mystery, the first Present " that God Almighty made to Man, was of you, O ye " Fishes? Do you think that without a mystery, among " all creatures and animals which[1] were appointed for " sacrifices, you only were excepted, O ye Fishes? Do you " think there was nothing meant by our Saviour Christ, " that next to the Paschal Lamb he took so much pleasure " in the food of you, O ye Fishes? Do you think it was by " meer chance, that when the Redeemer of the world was " to pay a tribute to *Cæsar*, he thought fit to find it in the " mouth of a Fish? These are all of them[2] so many " Mysteries and Sacraments, that oblige you in a more " particular manner to the praises of your Creator.

" It is from God, my beloved Fish, that you have re- " ceived being, life, motion, and sense. It is he that has " given you, in compliance with your natural inclinations, " the whole world of waters for your habitation. It is he " that has furnished it with lodgings, chambers, caverns, " grottoes, and such magnificent retirements as are not to " be met with in the seats of Kings, or in the palaces of " Princes: You have the water for your dwelling, a clear " transparent element, brighter than chrystal; you can " see from its deepest bottom every thing that passes on its " surface; you have the eyes of a *Lynx*, or of an *Argus*[3]; " you are guided by a secret and unerring principle, de- " lighting in every thing that may be beneficial to you, and " avoiding every thing that may be hurtful; you are " carried on by a hidden instinct to preserve your selves, " and to propagate your species; you obey, in all your " actions, works and motions, the dictates and suggestions " of nature, without the least repugnancy or contradiction.

" The colds of winter, and the heats of summer, are " equally incapable of molesting you. A serene or a clouded " sky are indifferent to you. Let the earth abound in " fruits, or be cursed with scarcity, it has no influence on " your welfare. You live secure in rains and thunders, " lightnings and earthquakes; you have no concern in " the blossoms of spring, or in the glowings of summer, in " the fruits of autumn, or in the frosts of winter. You are

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] *Argus*] *Argos*, 1705.

" not solicitous about hours or days, months or years ; " the variableness of the weather, or the change of seasons.

" In what dreadful majesty, in what wonderful power, in " what amazing providence did God Almighty distinguish " you among all the species of creatures that perished in the " universal deluge ! You only were insensible of the mis- " chief that had laid [1] waste the whole world.

" All this, as I have already told you, ought to inspire you " with gratitude and praise towards the Divine Majesty, " that has done so great things for you, granted [2] you " such particular graces and privileges, and heaped upon you " so many distinguishing favours. And since for all this " you cannot [3] employ your tongues in the praises of your " Benefactor, and are not provided with words to express " your gratitude; make at least some sign of reverence ; " bow your selves at his name ; give some show of gratitude, " according to the best of your capacities ; express your " thanks in the most becoming manner that you are able, " and be not unmindful of all the benefits he has bestowed " upon you.

" He had no sooner done speaking, but behold a Miracle ! " The fish, as though they had been endued with reason, " bowed down their heads with all the marks of a profound " humility and devotion, moving their bodies up and down " with a kind of fondness, as approving what had been " spoken by the blessed Father St. *Antonio*.

[4] The Legend adds, that after many Hereticks, who were present at the Miracle, had been converted by it, the Saint gave his benediction to the fish, and dismissed them.[4]

Several other the like stories of St. *Antony* are represented about his monument in a very fine *Basso Relievo*.

I could not forbear setting down the titles given to St. *Antony* in one of the tables that hangs up to him, as a token of gratitude from a poor Peasant, who fancied the Saint had saved him from breaking his neck.

Sacratissimi pusionis Bethlehemitici
Lilio candidiori delicio,

[1] laid] lain, 1705. [2] you, granted] you, that has granted, 1705.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705.
[4] In inverted commas; no fresh paragraph, 1705 and 1718. them] 'em, 1705.

Seraphidum soli fulgidissimo,
Celsissimo sacræ sapientiæ tholo,
Prodigiorum patratori potentissimo,
Mortis, erroris, calamitatis, Lepræ, Dæmonis,
Dispensatori, correctori, liberatori, curatori, fugatori,
Sancto, sapienti, pio, potenti, tremendo,
Ægrotorum et naufragantium salvatori
Præsentissimo, tutissimo.
Membrorum restitutori, vinculorum confractori,
Rerum perditarum inventori stupendo,
Periculorum omnium profligatori
Magno, Mirabili,
Ter Sancto,
Antonio Paduano,
Pientissimo post Deum ejusque Virgineam matrem
Protectori et Sospitatori[1] *suo*, &c.

The custome of hanging up limbs in wax, as well as pictures, is certainly derived from the old heathens, who[2] used, upon their recovery, to make an offering in wood, metal or clay, of the part that had been afflicted with a distemper, to the Deity that delivered them.[3] I have seen, I believe, every limb of a human body figured in iron or clay, which[4] were formerly made on this occasion, among the several collections of antiquities that have been shown me in *Italy*. The church of St. *Justina*, designed by *Palladio*, is the most handsom, luminous, disencumbered building in the inside that I have ever seen, and is esteemed by many artists one of the finest works in *Italy*. The long Nef consists of a row of five cupola's, the cross-one has on each side a single cupola deeper and broader than the others. The martyrdom of St. *Justina* hangs over the Altar, and is a piece of *Paul Veronese*. In the great town-hall of *Padua* stands a stone superscribed *Lapis Vituperii*. Any debtor that will swear himself not worth five pound, and is set by the Bailifs thrice with his bare buttocks on this stone in a full hall, clears himself of any farther prosecution from his creditors; but this is a punishment that no

[1] *Sospitatori*]¦*Sospitori*, 1705. [2] who] that, 1705.
[3] that delivered them] that had deliver'd them, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.

body has submitted to, these four and twenty years. The university of *Padua* is of late much more regular[1] than it was formerly, though it is not yet safe walking the streets after sun-set. There is at *Padua* a manufacture of cloth, which[2] has brought very great revenues into the republick. At present the *English* have not only gained upon the *Venetians* in the *Levant*, which used chiefly to be supplied from this manufacture, but have great quantities of their cloth in *Venice* it self; few of the nobility wearing any other sort, notwithstanding the magistrate of the pomps is obliged by his office to see that no body wears the cloth of a foreign country.[3] Our merchants indeed are forced to make use of some artifice to get these prohibited goods into port. What they here show for the ashes of *Livy* and *Antenor* is disregarded by the best of their own antiquaries.[4]

The pretended tomb of *Antenor*[5] put me in mind of the latter part of *Virgil*'s description, which[6] gives us the original of *Padua*.

Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi:
Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
It mare præruptum, et pelago premit arva sonanti;
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit
Trõia: nunc placidâ compostus pace quiescit. Æ. 1

Antenor, from the midst of *Grecian* hosts,
Could pass secure; and pierce th' *Illyrian* coasts,
Where rolling down the steep *Timavus* raves,
And through nine channels disembogues his waves.
At length he founded *Padua*'s happy seat,
And gave his *Trojans* a secure retreat:
There fix'd their arms, and there renew'd their names;
And there in quiet lyes.—— *Dryden.*

[1] regular] reform'd, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] of a foreign country] of another Country, 1705.
[4] is disregarded by the best of their own antiquaries] is altogether groundless. 1705.
[5] tomb of *Antenor*] Antenor's Tomb, 1705.
[6] which] that, 1705.

From *Padua* I went down to the river *Brent* in the ordinary ferry, which[1] brought me in a day's time to *Venice.*

VENICE.

HAVING often heard *Venice* represented as one of the most defensible cities in the world, I took care to inform my self of the particulars in which its strength consists. And these I find are chiefly owing to its advantagious situation; for it has neither rocks nor fortifications near it, and yet is, perhaps, the most impregnable town in *Europe.* It stands at least four miles from any part of the *Terra Firma,* nor are the shallows that lye about it ever frozen hard enough to bring over an army from the land-side; the constant flux and reflux of the sea, or the natural mildness of the climate, hindering the ice from gathering to any thickness; which is an advantage the *Hollanders* want, when they have laid all their country under water. On the side that is exposed to the Adriatic, the entrance is so difficult to hit, that they have marked it out with several stakes driven into the ground, which they would not fail to cut upon the first approach of an enemy's fleet. For this reason they have not fortified the little Islands, that lye at the entrance, to the best advantage, which might otherwise very easily command all the passes that lead to the city from the Adriatic. Nor could an ordinary fleet, with bomb-vessels, hope to succeed against a place that has always in its arsenal a considerable number of gallies and men of war ready to put to sea on a very short warning. If we could therefore suppose them[2] blocked up on all sides, by a power too strong for them,[2] both by sea and land, they would be able to defend themselves against every thing but famine; and this would not be a little mitigated by the great quantities of fish that their seas

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.

abound with, and that may be taken up in the midst of their very streets, which is such a natural magazine as few other places can boast of.

Our voyage-writers will needs have this city in great danger of being left, within an age or two, on the *Terra Firma*; and represent it in such a manner, as if the sea was insensibly shrinking from it, and retiring into its channel. I asked several, and among the rest Father *Coronelli*, the State's Geographer, of the truth of this particular, and they all assured me that the sea rises as high as ever, though the great heaps of dirt it[1] brings along with it are apt to choak up the shallows, but that they are in no danger of losing the benefit of their situation, so long as they are at the charge of removing these banks of mud and sand. One may see abundance of them[2] above the surface of the water, scattered up and down like so many little Islands, when the tide is low; and they are these that make the entrance for ships difficult to such as are not used to them,[2] for the deep canals run between them,[2] which the *Venetians* are at a great expence to keep free and open.

This city stands very convenient for commerce. It has several navigable rivers that run up into the body of *Italy*, by which they might supply a great many countries with fish and other commodities; not to mention their opportunities for the *Levant*, and each side of the Adriatic. But, notwithstanding these conveniencies, their trade is far from being in a flourishing condition for many reasons. The duties are great that are laid on merchandizes. Their Nobles think it below their quality to engage in traffick. The Merchants who[3] are grown rich, and able to manage great dealings, buy their nobility, and generally give over trade. Their manufactures of cloth, glass and silk, formerly the best in *Europe*, are now excelled by those of other countries. They are tenacious of old laws and customes to their great prejudice, whereas a trading nation must be still for new changes and expedients, as different junctures and emergencies arise. The State is at present very sensible of this decay in their trade, and

[1] dirt it] Dirt that it, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] who] that, 1705.

as a noble *Venetian*, who is still a merchant, told me, they will speedily find out some method to redress it; possibly[1] by making a Free port, for they look with an evil eye upon *Leghorne*, which[2] draws to it most of the vessels bound for *Italy*. They have hitherto been so negligent in this particular, that many think the Great Duke's gold has had no small influence in their councils.

Venice has several particulars which[2] are not to be found in other cities, and is therefore very entertaining to a traveller. It looks, at a distance, like a great town half floated by a deluge. There are canals every where crossing it, so that one may go to most houses either by land or water. This is a very great convenience to the inhabitants; for a *Gondola* with two oars at *Venice*, is as magnificent as a coach and six horses, with a large equipage, in another country; besides that it makes all carriages extremely cheap. The streets are generally paved with brick or free-stone, and always kept very neat, for there is no carriage, not so much as a chair, that passes through them.[3] There is an innumerable multitude of very handsome bridges, all of a single arch, and without any fence on either side, which would be a great inconvenience to a city less sober than *Venice*. One would indeed wonder that drinking is so little[4] in vogue among the *Venetians*, who are in a moist air and a moderate climate, and have no such diversions as bowling, hunting, walking, riding, and the like exercises to employ them[3] without doors. But as the Nobles are not to converse too much with strangers, they are in no danger of learning it; and they are generally too distrustful of one another for the freedoms that are used in such kind of conversations. There are many noble palaces in *Venice*. Their furniture is not commonly very rich, if we except the pictures, which are here in greater plenty than in any other place in *Europe*, from the hands of the best masters of the *Lombard* school; as *Titian*, *Paul Veronese*, and *Tintoret*. The last of these is in greater esteem at *Venice* than in other parts of *Italy*. The rooms are generally hung with gilt leather, which they

[1] possibly] probably, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] is so little] is not, 1705.

cover on extraordinary occasions with tapestry, and hangings of greater value. The flooring is a kind of red plaister made of brick ground to powder, and afterwards work'd into mortar. It is rubbed with oil, and makes a smooth, shining and beautiful surface. These particularities are chiefly owing to the moisture of the air, which would have an ill effect on other kinds of furniture, as it shows it self too visibly in many of their finest pictures. Though the *Venetians* are extremely jealous of any great fame or merit in a living member of their common-wealth, they never fail of giving a man his due praises, when they are in no danger of suffering from his ambition. For this reason, though there are a great many monuments erected to such as have been benefactors to the Republick, they are generally put up after their deaths. Among the many Elogiums that are given to the Doge *Pisauro*, who [1] had been Ambassador in *England*, his epitaph says, *In Angliâ Jacobi Regis obitum mirâ calliditate celatum mirâ sagacitate rimatus priscam benevolentiam firmavit.* The particular palaces, churches, and pictures of *Venice* are enumerated in several little books that may be bought on the place, and have [2] been faithfully transcribed by many [3] voyage-writers. When I was at *Venice*, they were putting out very curious stamps of the several edifices which [4] are most famous for their beauty or magnificence. The *Arsenal* of *Venice* is an Island of about three miles round. It contains all the stores and provisions for war, that are not actually employed. There are docks for their gallies and men of war, most of them [5] full, as well as work-houses for all land and naval preparations. That part of it, where the arms are laid, makes a great show, and was indeed very extraordinary about a hundred years ago, but at present a great part of its furniture is grown useless. There seem to be almost as many suits of armour as there are guns. The swords are old-fashioned and unwieldy in a very great number, and the fire-arms fitted with locks of little convenience in comparison of those that are now in use. The *Venetians* pretend they

[1] who] that, 1705.
[2] place, and have] Place, which have, 1705.
[3] many] several, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.
[5] them] 'em, 1705.

could set out, in case of great necessity, thirty men of war, a hundred gallies, and ten galeasses, though I cannot[1] conceive how they could man a fleet of half the number. It was certainly a mighty error in this State to affect so many conquests on the *Terra Firma*, which has only served to raise the jealousie of the christian Princes, and about three hundred years ago had like to have ended in the utter extirpation of the commonwealth; whereas, had they applyed themselves with the same politics and industry to the increase of their strength by sea, they might perhaps have had all the Islands of the *Archipelago* in their hands, and, by consequence, the greatest fleet, and the most sea-men of any other State in *Europe*. Besides, that this would have given no jealousie to the Princes their neighbours, who would have enjoyed their own dominions in peace, and have been very well contented to have seen so strong a bulwark against all the forces and invasions of the *Ottoman* Empire.

This Republick has been much more powerful than it is at present, as it is still likelier to sink than increase in its dominions. It is not impossible but the *Spaniard* may, some time or other, demand of them[2] *Creme*, *Brescia*, and *Bergame*, which have been torn from the *Milanese*; and in case a war should arise upon it, and the *Venetians* lose a single battel, they might be beaten off the Continent in a single summer,[3] for their fortifications are very inconsiderable. On the other side, the *Venetians* are in continual apprehensions from the *Turk*, who will certainly endeavour at the recovery of the *Morea*, as soon as the *Ottoman* Empire has recruited a little of its antient strength. They are very sensible that they had better have pushed their conquests on the other side of the Adriatick into *Albania*, for then their territories would have lain together, and have been nearer the fountain-head to have received succours on occasion; but the *Venetians* are under articles with the Emperor, to resign into his hands whatever they conquer of the *Turkish* dominions, that has been formerly dismembred from the Empire. And

[1] cannot] can't, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] in a single summer] in a Summer's time, 1705.

having already very much dissatisfied him in the *Frioul* and *Dalmatia*, they dare not think of exasperating him further. The Pope disputes with them [1] their pretensions to the *Polesin*, as the Duke of *Savoy* lays an equal claim to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. 'Tis surprising to consider with what heats these two powers [2] have contested their title to a Kingdom that is in the hands of the *Turk*.

Among all these difficulties the Republick will still maintain it self, if policy can prevail upon force; for it is certain the [3] *Venetian* Senate is one of the wisest councils [4] in the world, though at the same time, if we believe the reports of several that have been well versed in their constitution, a great part of their politics is founded on maximes which others do not [5] think consistent with their honour to put in practice. The preservation of the Republick is that to which all other considerations submit. To encourage idleness and luxury in the Nobility, to cherish ignorance and licentiousness in the Clergy, to keep alive a continual faction in the common people, to connive at the viciousness and debauchery of convents, to breed dissentions among the Nobles of the *Terra Firma*, to treat a brave man with scorn and infamy; in short, to stick at nothing for the publick interest, are represented as the refined parts of the *Venetian* wisdom.

Among all the instances of their politics, there is none more admirable than the great secrecy that reigns in their public councils. The Senate is generally as numerous as our House of Commons, if we only reckon the sitting Members, and yet carries its resolutions so privately, that they are seldom known 'till they discover themselves in the execution.[6] It is not many years since they had before them [1] a great debate concerning the punishment of one of their Admirals, which lasted a month together, and concluded in his condemnation; yet was there none of his friends, nor of those who had engaged warmly in his defence, that gave him the least intimation of what was

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] powers] States, 1705.
[3] certain the] certain that the, 1705.
[4] is one of the wisest councils] is the wisest Council, 1705.
[5] which others do not] that others don't, 1705.
[6] in the execution] in Action, 1705.

passing against him, 'till he was actually seiz'd, and in the hands of justice.

The Noble *Venetians* think themselves equal at least to the Electors of the Empire, and but one degree below Kings; for which reason they seldom travel into foreign countries, where they must undergo the mortification of being treated like private Gentlemen: Yet it is [1] observed of them,[2] that they discharge themselves with a great deal of dexterity in such embassies and treaties as are laid on them [2] by the Republick; for their whole lives are employed in intrigues of state, and they naturally give themselves airs of Kings and Princes, of which the Ministers of other nations are only the Representatives. Monsieur *Amelot* reckons in his time, two thousand five hundred Nobles that had voices in the great Council, but at present, I am told, there are not at most fifteen hundred, notwithstanding the addition of many new families since that time. It is very strange, that with this advantage they are not able to keep up their number, considering that the Nobility spreads equally through all the brothers, and that so very few of them [3] are destroyed by the wars of the Republick. Whether this may be imputed to the luxury of the *Venetians*, or to the ordinary celibacy of the younger brothers, or to the last plague which [3] swept away many of them,[2] I know not. They generally thrust the females of their families into convents, the better to preserve their estates. This makes the *Venetian* Nuns famous for the liberties they allow themselves. They have Opera's within their own walls, and often go out of their bounds to meet their admirers, or they are very much misrepresented. They have many of them [2] their lovers, that converse with them [2] daily at the grate, and are very free to admit a visit from a stranger. There is indeed one of the *Cornara's*, that not long ago refused to see any under a Prince.

The Carnaval of *Venice* is every where talked of. The great diversion of the place at [4] that time, as well as on all other high occasions, is Masking. The *Venetians*, who are

[1] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] diversion of the place at] Diversion at, 1705.

naturally grave, love to give into the follies and entertainments of such seasons, when disguised in a false personage. They are indeed under a necessity of finding out diversions that may agree with the nature of the place, and make some amends for the loss of several pleasures which [1] may be met with on the Continent. These disguises give occasion to abundance of love-adventures; for there is something more intriguing in the amours of *Venice*, than in those of other countries, and I question not but the secret history of a Carnaval would make a collection of very diverting Novels. Opera's are another great entertainment of this season. The Poetry of them [2] is generally as exquisitely ill, as the Musick is good. The arguments are often taken from some celebrated action of the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*, which sometimes looks ridiculous enough; for who can endure to hear one of the rough old *Romans* squeaking through the mouth of an Eunuch, especially when they may chuse a subject out of courts where Eunuchs are really Actors, or represent by them [2] any of the soft *Asiatic* Monarchs? The Opera that was most in vogue, during my stay at *Venice*, was built on the following subject. *Cæsar* and *Scipio* are rivals for *Cato*'s daughter. *Cæsar*'s first words bid his soldiers fly, for the enemies are upon them.[2] *Si leva Cesare, e dice a Soldati. A la fugga. A' lo Scampo.* The daughter gives the preference to *Cæsar*, which is made the occasion of *Cato*'s death. Before he kills himself, you see him withdrawn into his Library, where, among his books, I observed the titles of *Plutarch* and *Tasso*. After a short soliloquy he strikes himself with the dagger that he holds in his hand, but, being interrupted by one of his friends, he stabs him for his pains, and by the violence of the blow unluckily breaks the dagger on one of his ribs, so that he is forced to dispatch himself by tearing up his first wound. This last circumstance puts me in mind of a contrivance in the Opera of St. *Angelo*, that was acted at the same time. The King of the play endeavours at a rape, but the Poet being resolved to save his Heroine's honour, has so ordered it, that the King always acts with a great case-knife stuck in his girdle,

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.

which the Lady snatches from him in the struggle, and so defends her self.

The *Italian* Poets, besides the celebrated smoothness of their tongue, have a particular advantage, above the writers of other nations, in the difference of their Poetical and Prose language. There are indeed sets of phrases that in all countries are peculiar to the Poets, but among the *Italians* there are not only sentences, but a multitude of particular words that never enter into common discourse. They have such a different turn and polishing for poetical use, that they drop several of their letters, and appear in another form, when they come to be ranged in verse. For this reason the *Italian* Opera seldom sinks into a poorness of language, but, amidst all the meanness and familiarity of the thoughts, has something beautiful and sonorous in the expression. Without this natural advantage of the tongue, their present poetry would appear wretchedly low and vulgar, notwithstanding the many strained [1] allegories that are so much in use among the writers of this nation. The *English* and *French*, who [2] always use the same words in verse as in ordinary conversation, are forced to raise their language with metaphors and figures, or, by the pompousness of the whole phrase, to wear off any littleness that appears in the particular parts that compose it. This makes our blank verse, where there is no rhime to support the expression, extremely difficult to such as are not masters in the tongue, especially when they write on low subjects; and 'tis probably for this reason that *Milton* has made use of such frequent transpositions, latinisms, antiquated words and phrases, that he might the better deviate from vulgar and ordinary expressions.

The Comedies that I saw at *Venice*, or indeed in any other part of *Italy*, are very indifferent, and more lewd than those of other countries. Their Poets have no notion of genteel Comedy, and fall into the most filthy double-meanings imaginable, when they have a mind to make their audience merry. There is no part generally so wretched as that of the fine Gentleman, especially when he converses with his Mistress; for then the whole dialogue is an

[1] strained] unnatural, 1705. [2] who] that, 1705.

insipid mixture of pedantry and romance. But 'tis no wonder that the Poets of so jealous and reserved a nation fail in such conversations on the stage, as they have no patterns of in nature. There are four standing characters which [1] enter into every piece that comes on the stage, the *Doctor*, *Harlequin*, *Pantalone* and *Coviello*. The *Doctor*'s character comprehends the whole extent of a Pedant, that with a deep voice, and a magisterial air breaks in upon conversation, and drives down all before him: Every thing he says is backed with quotations out of *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Virgil*, or any Author that rises uppermost, and all answers from his companion are looked upon as impertinencies or interruptions. *Harlequin*'s part is made up of blunders and absurdities; he is to mistake one name for another, to forget his errands, to stumble over Queens, and to run his head against every post that stands in his way. This is all attended with something so comical in the voice and gestures, that a man, who is sensible of the folly of the part, can hardly forbear being pleased with it. *Pantalone* is generally an old Cully, and *Coviello* a Sharper.

I have seen a translation of the *Cid* acted at *Bolonia*, which [1] would never have taken, had they not found a place in it for these Buffoons. All four of them [2] appear in masks that are made like the old *Roman Personæ*, as I shall have occasion to observe in another place. The *French* and *Italians* have probably derived this custom of shewing some of their characters in masks, from the *Greek* and *Roman* theater. The old *Vatican Terence* has at the head of every scene the figures of all the persons that are concerned in it, with the particular disguises in which they acted; and I remember to have seen in the *Villa Mattheio* an antick statue masked, which [1] was perhaps designed for *Gnatho* in the Eunuch, for it agrees exactly with the figure he makes in the *Vatican* manuscript. One would wonder indeed how so polite a people as the ancient *Romans* and *Athenians*, should not look on these borrowed faces as unnatural. They might do very well for a Cyclops, or a Satyr that [3] can have no resemblance in human

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] Satyr that] Satyr, that, 1705.

features ; but for a Flatterer, a Miser, or the like characters, which [1] abound in our own species, nothing is more ridiculous than to represent their looks by a painted vizard. In persons of this nature the turns and motions of the face are often as agreeable as any part of the action. Could we suppose that a mask represented never so naturally the general humour of a character, it can never suit with the variety of passions that are incident to every single person in the whole course of a play. The grimace may be proper on some occasions, but is too steady to agree with all. The rabble indeed are generally pleased at the first entry of a disguise, but the jest grows cold even with them too when it comes on the stage in a second scene.

Since I am on this subject, I cannot [2] forbear mentioning a custom at *Venice*, which [1] they tell me is particular to the common people of this country, of singing Stanza's out of *Tasso*. They are set to a pretty solemn tune, and when one begins in any part of the Poet, it is [3] odds but he will be answered by some body else that over-hears him : So that sometimes you have ten or a dozen in the neighbourhood of one another, taking verse after verse, and running on with the Poem as far as their memories will carry them.

On *Holy-Thursday*, among the several shows that are yearly exhibited, I saw one that is odd enough, and particular to the *Venetians*. There is a set of Artisans, who [4] by the help of several poles, which they lay across each others shoulders, build themselves up into a kind of Pyramid ; so that you see a pile of men in the air of four or five rows rising one above another. The weight is so equally distributed, that every man is very well able to bear his part of it, the stories, if I may so call them,[5] growing less and less as they advance higher and higher. A little boy represents the point of the Pyramid, who, after a short space, leaps off, with a great deal of dexterity, into the arms of one that catches him at the bottom. In the same manner the whole building falls to pieces. I have been the more particular on this, because it explains the

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] cannot] can't, 1705.
[3] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.
[5] them] 'em, 1705.

following verses of *Claudian*, which show that the *Venetians* are not the inventors of this trick.

Vel qui more avium sese jaculantur in auras,
Corporaque ædificant, celeri crescentia nexu,
Quorum compositam puer augmentatus in arcem
Ēmicat, et vinctus plantæ, vel cruribus hærens,
Pendula librato figit vestigia saltu. Claud. de Pr. et Olyb. Cons.

Men, pil'd on men, with active leaps arise,
And build the breathing fabrick to the skies;
A sprightly youth above the topmost row
Points the tall pyramid, and crowns the show.

Though we meet with the *Veneti* in the old poets, the city of *Venice* is too modern to find a place among them.[1] *Sannazarius*'s Epigram is too well known to be inserted. The same Poet has celebrated this city in two other places of his Poems.

——Quis Venetæ miracula proferat urbis,
Una instar magni quæ simul Orbis habet?
Salve Italûm Regina, altæ pulcherrima Romæ
Æmula, quæ terris, quæ dominaris aquis!
Tu tibi vel Reges cives facis; O Decus, O Lux
Ausoniæ, per quam libera turba sumus,
Per quam Barbaries nobis non imperat, et Sol
Exoriens nostro clarius orbe nitet! L. 3. El. 1.

Venetia stands with endless beauties crown'd,
And as a world within her self is found.
Hail Queen of *Italy!* for years to come
The mighty rival of immortal *Rome!*
Nations and Seas are in thy states enroll'd,
And Kings among thy citizens are told.
Ausonia's brightest ornament! by thee
She sits a Sov'raign, unenslav'd, and free;
By thee, the rude Barbarian chas'd away,
The rising sun chears with a purer ray
Our western world, and doubly gilds the day.

Nec Tu semper eris, quæ septem amplecteris arces,
Ne[c] Tu, quæ mediis æmula surgis aquis. L. 2. El. 1.

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

Thou too shalt fall by time or barb'rous foes,
Whose circling walls the sev'n fam'd hills inclose;
And thou, whose rival tow'rs invade the skies,
And, from amidst the waves, with equal glory rise.

FERRARA, RAVENNA, RIMINI.

AT *Venice* I took a bark for *Ferrara*, and in my way thither saw several mouths of the *Po*, by which it empties it self into the Adriatic,

——*Quo non alius per pinguia culta*
In mare purpureum violentior influit amnis. Virg. G. 4.

which is true, if understood only of the rivers of *Italy*.

Lucan's description of the *Po* would have been very beautiful, had he known when to have given over.

Quoque magis nullum tellus se solvit in amnem
Eridanus, fractasque evolvit in æquora sylvas,
Hesperiamque exhaurit aquis: hunc fabula primum
Populeâ fluvium ripas umbrâsse coronâ:
Cumque diem pronum transverso limite ducens
Succendit Phaëton flagrantibus æthera loris;
Gurgitibus raptis, penitus tellure perustâ,
Hunc habuisse pares Phœbeis ignibus undas. L. 2.

The *Po*, that rushing with uncommon force,
O'er-sets whole woods in its tumultuous course,
And rising from *Hesperia*'s watry veins,
Th' exhausted land of all its moisture drains.
The *Po*, as sings the fable, first convey'd
Its wond'ring current through a poplar shade:
For when young *Phaeton* mistook his way,
Lost and confounded in the blaze of day,
This river, with surviving streams supply'd,
When all the rest of the whole earth were dry'd,

And nature's self lay ready to expire,
Quench'd the dire flame that set the world on fire.

The Poet's reflections follow.

Non minor hic Nilo, si non per plana[1] *jacentis*
Ægypti Libycas Nilus stagnaret arenas.
Non minor hic Istro, nisi quod dum permeat orbem
Ister, casuros in quælibet æquora fontes
Accipit, et Scythicas exit non solus in undas. Id.

Nor would the *Nile* more watry stores contain,
But that he stagnates on his[2] *Libyan* plain:
Nor would the *Danube* run with greater force,
But that he gathers in his tedious course
Ten thousand streams, and swelling as he flows,
In *Scythian* seas the glut of rivers throws.

That is, says *Scaliger*, the *Eridanus*[3] would be bigger than the *Nile* and *Danube*, if the *Nile* and *Danube* were not bigger than the *Eridanus*. What makes the Poet's remark the more improper, the very reason why the *Danube* is greater than the *Po*, as he assigns it, is that which really makes the *Po* as great as it is; for before its fall into the Gulf, it receives into its channel the most considerable Rivers of *Piemont*, *Milan*, and the rest of *Lombardy*.

From *Venice* to *Ancona* the tide comes in very sensibly at its stated periods, but rises more or less in proportion as it advances nearer the head of the Gulf. *Lucan* has run out of his way to describe the[4] *Phænomenon*, which is indeed very[5] extraordinary to those who lye out of the neighbourhood of the great Ocean, and, according to his usual custom, lets his Poem stand still that he may give way to his own reflections.

Quàque jacet littus dubium, quod terra fretumque
Vendicat alternis vicibus, cum funditur ingens
Oceanus, vel cùm refugis se fluctibus aufert.
Ventus ab extremo pelagus sic axe volutet

[1] *per plana*] *perplana*, 1705.
[2] his] the, 1705, 1718.
[3] *Eridanus*] *Eridanis*, 1705.
[4] the] this, 1705, 1718.
[5] which is indeed very] that is very, 1705.

Destituatque ferens: an sidere mota secundo
Tethyos unda vagæ lunaribus æstuat[1] *horis:*
Flammiger an Titan, ut alentes hauriat undas,
Erigat oceanum fluctusque ad sidera tollat,
Quærite quos agitat mundi labor: at mihi semper
Tu quæcunque moves tam crebros causa meatus,
Ut superi voluere, late.——— Lib. 1.

Wash'd with successive seas, the doubtful strand
By turns is ocean, and by turns is land:
Whether the winds in distant regions blow,
Moving the world of waters to and fro;
Or waining Moons their setled periods keep
To swell the billows, and ferment the deep;
Or the tir'd Sun, his vigour to supply,
Raises the floating mountains to the Sky,
And slakes his thirst within the mighty tide,
Do you who study nature's works decide:
Whilst I the dark mysterious cause admire,
Nor, into what the Gods conceal, presumptuously enquire.

At *Ferrara* I met nothing extraordinary. The town is very large, but extremely thin of people. It has a Citadel, and something like a fortification running round it, but so large that it requires more Soldiers to defend it, than the Pope has in his whole dominions. The streets are as beautiful as any I have seen, in their length, breadth, and regularity. The *Benedictines* have the finest convent of the place. They showed us in the church *Ariosto*'s Monument: His Epitaph says, he was *Nobilitate generis atque animi clarus, in rebus publicis administrandis, in regendis populis, in gravissimis et summis Pontificis legationibus prudentiâ, consilio, eloquentiâ præstantissimus.*

I came down a branch of the *Po*, as far as *Alberto*, within ten miles of *Ravenna*. All this space lyes miserably uncultivated 'till you come near *Ravenna*, where the soil is made extremely fruitful, and shows what much of the rest might be, were there hands enough to manage it to the best advantage. It is now on both sides the road very marshy, and generally over-grown with Rushes,

[1] *æstuat*] *æstuet*, 1705, 1718.

which made me fancy it was once floated by the Sea, that lyes within four miles of it. Nor could I in the least doubt it when I saw *Ravenna*, that is now almost [1] at the same distance from the Adriatic, though it was formerly the most famous of all the *Roman* ports.

One may guess at its ancient situation from *Martial*'s

Meliùsque Ranæ garriant Ravennates. Lib. 3.

Ravenna's Frogs in better musick croak.

and the description that *Silius Italicus* has given us of it.

Quàque gravi remo limosis segniter undis
Lenta paludosæ perscindunt stagna Ravennæ. L. 8.

Encumber'd in the mud, their oars divide
With heavy strokes the thick unwieldy tide.

Accordingly the old Geographers represent it as situated among marshes and shallows. The place which is shown for the Haven, is on a level with the town, and has probably been stopped up by the great heaps of dirt that the sea has hrown into it; for all the soil on that side of *Ravenna* has been left there insensibly by the sea's discharging it self upon it for so many ages. The ground must have been formerly much lower, for otherwise the town would have lain under water. The remains of the *Pharos*, that stand about three miles from the sea, and two from the town, have their foundations covered with earth for some yards, as they told me, which [2] notwithstanding are upon a level with the fields that lye about them,[3] though 'tis probable they took the advantage of a rising ground to set it upon. It was a square Tower of about twelve yards in breadth, as appears by that part of it which yet remains entire, so that its height must have been very considerable to have preserved a proportion. It is made in the form of the *Venetian Campanello*, and is probably the high Tower mentioned by *Pliny*, *Lib.* 36. *cap.* 12.

On the side of the town, where the sea is supposed to have

[1] that is now almost] that is almost, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.

lain formerly, there is now a little Church called the *Rotonda*. At the entrance of it are two stones, the one with an inscription in *Gothic* characters, that has nothing in it remarkable; the other is a square piece of marble, that by the inscription appears ancient, and by the ornaments about it shows it self to have been a little Pagan monument of two persons who [1] were shipwreck'd, perhaps in the place where now their monument stands. The first line and a half, that tells their names and families in prose, is not legible; the rest runs thus,

———Raniæ domus hos produxit alumnos,
Libertatis opus contulit una dies.
Naufraga mors pariter rapuit quos junxerat antè,
Et duplices luctus mors periniqua [2] *dedit.*

Both with the same indulgent Master bless'd,
On the same day their liberty possess'd:
A shipwreck slew whom it had join'd before,
And left their common friends their fun'rals to deplore.

There is a turn in the third verse that we lose, by not knowing the circumstances of their story. It was the *Naufraga mors* which [3] destroyed them,[4] as it had formerly united them [4]; what this union was is expressed in the preceding verse, by their both having been made Freemen on the same day. If therefore we suppose they had been formerly shipwreck'd with their Master, and that he made them [4] free at the same time, the *Epigram* is unriddled. Nor is this interpretation perhaps so forced as it may seem at first sight, since it was the custom of the Masters, a little before their death, to give their slaves their freedom, if they had deserved it at their hands; and it is natural enough to suppose one, involved [5] in a common shipwreck, would give such of his slaves their liberty, as should have the good luck to save themselves. The Chancel of this church is vaulted with a single stone of four foot in thickness, and a hundred and fourteen in circumference. There stood on the outside of this little Cupola a great Tomb

[1] who] that, 1705. [2] *periniqua*] *per iniqua*, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705. [4] them] 'em, 1705.
[5] one, involved] one, that was engag'd, 1705.

of *Porphyry*, and the Statues of the twelve Apostles; but in the war that *Loüis* [1] the twelfth made on *Italy*, the Tomb was broken in pieces by a cannon-ball. It was,[2] perhaps the same blow that made the flaw in the Cupola, though the inhabitants say it was crack'd by Thunder, that destroyed a son of one of their *Gothic* Princes, who had taken shelter under it, as having been foretold what kind of death he was to die. I asked an Abbot, that was in the church, what was the name of this *Gothic* Prince, who, after a little recollection, answered me, "That he could not tell pre-"cisely, but that he thought it was[3] one *Julius Cæsar*." There is a Convent of *Theatins*, where they show a little window in the church, through which the Holy Ghost is said to have entered in the shape of a Dove, and to have settled on one of the Candidates for the Bishoprick. The Dove is represented in the window, and in several places of the church, and is in great reputation all over *Italy*. I should not indeed think it impossible for a Pigeon to fly in accidentally through the roof, where they still keep the hole open, and by its fluttering over [4] such a particular place, to give so superstitious an assembly an occasion of favouring a competitor, especially if he had many friends among the Electors that would make a politick use of such an accident: But they pretend the miracle has happened more than once. Among the pictures of several famous men of their order, there is one with this inscription. *P. D. Thomas Gouldvellus Ep. Asᵉⁱˢ Tridⁿᵒ concilio contra Hæreticos, et in Anglia contra Elisabet. Fidei Confessor conspicuus.* The statue of *Alexander* the seventh stands in the large square of the town; it is cast in brass, and has the posture that is always given the figure of a Pope; an arm extended, and blessing the people. In another square on a high pillar is set the statue of the blessed Virgin, arrayed like a Queen, with a scepter in her hand, and a crown upon her head; for having delivered the town from a raging pestilence. The custom of crowning the holy Virgin is so much in vogue among the *Italians*, that one often sees in their churches a little tinsel crown,

[1] *Loüis*] *Louis*, 1705.
[2] It was] 'Twas, 1705.
[3] it was] 'twas, 1705.
[4] over] o'er, 1705.

or perhaps a circle of stars glewed to the canvas over the head of the figure, which sometimes spoils a good picture. In the convent of *Benedictines* I saw three huge Chests of Marble, with no inscription on them[1] that I could find, though they are said to contain the ashes of *Valentinian, Honorius,* and his sister *Placidia.* From *Ravenna* I came to *Rimini,* having passed the *Rubicon* by the way. This river is not so very contemptible as it is generally represented, and was much increased by the melting of the snows when *Cæsar* passed it, according to *Lucan.*

Fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis
Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida canduit æstas:
Perque imas serpit valles, et Gallica certus
Limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis:
Tunc vires præbebat hyems, atque auxerat undas
Tertia jam gravido pluvialis Cynthia[2] *cornu,*
Et madidis Euri resolutæ flatibus Alpes. L. 1.

While summer lasts, the streams of *Rubicon*
From their spent source in a small current run,
Hid in the winding vales they gently glide,
And *Italy* from neighb'ring *Gaul* divide;
But now, with winter storms encreas'd, they rose,
By wat'ry moons produc'd, and *Alpine* snows,
That melting on the hoary mountains lay,
And in warm eastern winds dissolv'd away.

This river is now called *Pisatello.*

Rimini has nothing modern[3] to boast of. Its antiquities are as follow: A marble Bridge of five arches, built by *Augustus* and *Tiberius,* for the inscription is still legible, though not rightly transcribed by *Gruter.* A triumphal Arch raised by[4] *Augustus,* which[5] makes a noble gate to the town, though part of it is ruined. The ruines of an Amphitheater. The *Suggestum,* on which it is said that *Julius Cæsar* harangued his army after having passed the *Rubicon.* I must confess I can by no means look on this last as authentick: It is built of hewn stone, like the pedestal

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] *Cynthia*] *Cyathia,* 1705.
[3] nothing modern] nothing at present, 1705.
[4] by] to, 1705. [5] which] that, 1705.

of a pillar, but something higher than ordinary, and is but just broad enough for one man to stand upon it. On the contrary, the ancient *Suggestums*,[1] as I have often observed on Medals, as well as on *Constantine*'s Arch, were made of wood like a little kind of Stage, for[2] the heads of the nails are sometimes represented, that are supposed to have fastened the boards together. We often see on them[3] the Emperor, and two or three general Officers, sometimes sitting and sometimes standing, as they made Speeches, or distributed a Congiary to the soldiers or people. They were probably always in readiness, and carried among the baggage of the army, whereas this at *Rimini* must have been built on the place, and required some time before it could be finished. [Plate I.]

If the observation I have here made is just, it may serve as a confirmation to the learned *Fabretti*'s conjecture on *Trajan*'s Pillar; who supposes, I think, with a great deal of reason, that the Camps, Intrenchments, and other works of the same nature, which are cut out as if they had been made of brick or hewn stone, were in reality only of Earth, Turf, or the like materials; for there are on the Pillar some of these *Suggestums* which are figured like[4] those on Medals, with only this difference, that they seem built of brick or free-stone. At twelve miles distance from *Rimini* stands the little Republick of St. *Marino*, which I could not forbear visiting, though it lyes out of the common tour of travellers, and has excessively bad ways to it. I shall here give a particular account of it, because I know of no[5] body else that has done it. One may, at least, have the pleasure of seeing in it something more singular than can be found in great Governments, and form from it an Idea of *Venice* in its first beginnings, when it had only a few heaps of earth for its dominions, or of *Rome* it self, when it had as yet covered but one of its seven hills.

[1] *Suggestums*] *Suggestiums*, 1705.
[2] Stage, for] Stage, or Bulk of a Shop, for, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] which are figured like] that are made like, 1705.
[5] know of no] know no, 1705.

The REPUBLICK of St. *MARINO.*

THE town and republick of St. *Marino* stands on the top of a very high and craggy mountain. It is generally hid among the clouds, and lay under snow when I saw it, though it was clear and warm weather in all the country about it. There is not a spring or fountain, that I could hear of, in the whole dominions, but they are always well provided with huge cisterns and reservoirs of rain and snow-water. The wine that grows on the sides of their mountain is extraordinary good, and I think much better than any I met with on the cold side of the *Appenines*. This puts me in mind of their cellars, which have most of them [1] a natural advantage that renders them [1] extremely cool in the hottest seasons, for they have generally in the sides of them [1] deep holes that run into the hollows of the hill, from whence there constantly issues a breathing kind of vapour, so very chilling in the summer time, that a man can scarce suffer his hand in the wind of it.

This mountain, and a few neighbouring hillocks that lye scattered about the bottom of it, is the whole circuit of these dominions. They have, what they call, three castles, three convents, and five churches, and can reckon about five thousand souls in their community. The inhabitants as well as the [2] historians, who [3] mention this little republick, give the following account of its original. St. *Marino* was its founder, a *Dalmatian* by birth, and by trade a Mason. He was employed above [4] thirteen hundred years ago in the reparation of *Rimini*, and, after he had finished his work, retired to this solitary mountain, as finding it very proper for the life of a Hermit, which he led in the greatest rigours and austerities of religion. He had not been long here before he wrought a reputed miracle, which, joined with his extraordinary sanctity, gained him so

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[2] as well as the] and, 1705.
[3] who] that, 1705.
[4] above] about, 1705.

PLATE I

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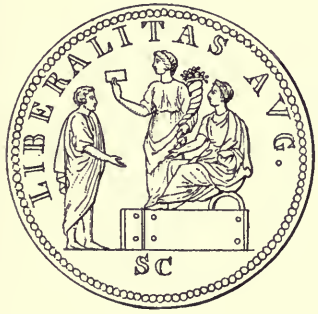

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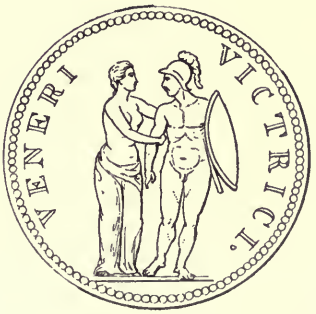

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[*To face p.* 71.

great an esteem, that the Princess of the country made him a present of the mountain to dispose of it at his own discretion. His reputation quickly peopled it, and gave rise to the Republick which [1] calls it self after his name. So that the Common-wealth of *Marino* may boast at least of a nobler original than that of *Rome*, the one having been at first an *Asylum* for robbers and murderers, and the other a resort of persons eminent for their piety and devotion. The best of their churches is dedicated to the Saint, and holds his ashes. His statue stands over the high Altar, with the figure of a mountain in its hands, crowned with three castles, which is likewise the arms of the Common-wealth. They attribute to his protection the long duration of their State, and look on him as the greatest Saint next the Blessed Virgin. I saw in their Statute-book a law against such as speak disrespectfully of him, who are to be punished in the same manner as those who [2] are convicted of blasphemy.

This petty Republick has now lasted thirteen [3] hundred years, while all the other States [4] of *Italy* have several times changed their masters and forms of government. Their whole history is comprised in two purchases, which they made of a neighbouring Prince, and in a war in which they assisted the Pope against a Lord of *Rimini*. In the year 1100 they bought a castle in the neighbourhood, as they did another in the year 1170. The papers of the conditions are preserved in their Archives, where 'tis very remarkable that the name of the agent for the Common-wealth, of the seller, of the notary, and the witnesses, are the same in both the instruments, though drawn up at seventy years distance from each other. Nor can it be any mistake in the date, because the Popes and Emperors names, with the year of their respective reigns,[5] are both punctually set down. About 290 years after this they assisted Pope *Pius* the second against one of the *Malatesta*'s, who was then Lord of *Rimini*; and when they had helped to conquer him, received from the

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] who] that, 1705.
[3] thirteen] Fourteen, 1705.
[4] all the other States] all the States, 1705.
[5] their respective reigns] their Reigns, 1705.

Pope, as a reward for their assistance, four little castles. This they represent as the flourishing time of the Common-wealth, when their dominions reached half way up a neighbouring hill; but at present they are reduced to their old extent. They would probably sell their liberty as dear as they could to any that attacked them[1]; for there is but one road by which to climb up to them,[1] and they have a very severe law against any of their own body that enters the town by another path, lest any new one should be worn on the sides of their mountain. All that are capable of bearing arms are exercised, and ready at a moment's call.

The soveraign power of the Republick was lodged originally in what they call the *Arengo*, a great Council in which every house had its Representative. But because they found too much confusion in such a multitude of Statesmen, they devolved their whole authority into the hands of the Council of sixty. The *Arengo* however is still called together in cases of extraordinary importance; and if, after due summons, any member absents himself, he is to be fin'd to the value of about a penny *English*, which the statute says he shall pay, *sine aliquâ diminutione aut gratiâ*. In the ordinary course of government, the Council of sixty (which, notwithstanding the name, consists but of forty persons) has in its hands the administration of affairs, and is made up half out of the Noble Families, and half out of the *Plebeian*. They decide[2] all by baloting, are not admitted 'till five and twenty years old, and chuse the Officers of the Common-wealth.

Thus far they agree with the great Council of *Venice*, but their power is much more extended; for no sentence can stand that is not confirmed by two thirds of this Council. Besides, that no Son can be admitted into it during the life of his Father, nor two be in it of the same family, nor any enter but by election. The chief Officers of the Common-wealth are the two *Capitaneos*, who have such a power as the old *Roman* Consuls had, but are chosen every six months. I talked with some that had been *Capitaneos* six or seven times, though the Office is never

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] decide] manage, 1705.

to be continued to the same persons twice successively. The third Officer is the Commissary, who judges in all civil and criminal matters. But because the many alliances, friendships, and intermarriages, as well as the personal feuds and animosities that happen among so small a people might obstruct the course of justice, if one of their own number had the destribution of it; they have always a foreigner for this employ, whom they chuse for three years, and maintain out of the publick stock. He must be a Doctor of Law, and a man of known integrity. He is joined in commission with the *Capitaneos*, and acts something like the Recorder of *London* under the [1] Lord Mayor. The Common-wealth of *Genoa* was forced to make use of a foreign Judge for many years, whilst their Republick was torn into the divisions of *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*. The fourth man in the state is the Physician, who must likewise be a stranger, and is maintained by a publick salary. He is obliged to keep a horse, to visit the sick, and to inspect all Drugs that are imported. He must be at least thirty five years old, a Doctor of the Faculty, and eminent for his religion and honesty; that his rashness or ignorance may not unpeople the Common-wealth. And that they may not suffer long under any [2] bad choice, he is elected only for three years. The present Physician is a very understanding man, and well read in our countrymen, *Harvey*, *Willis*, *Sydenham*, &c. He has been continued for some time among them,[3] and they say the Common-wealth thrives under his hands. Another person who [4] makes no ordinary figure in the Republick, is the School-master. I scarce met with any in the place that had not some tincture of learning. I had the perusal of a *Latin* book in *Folio*, entitled, *Statuta Illustrissimæ Reipublicæ Sancti Marini*, printed at *Rimini* by order of the Common-wealth. The Chapter on the publick Ministers says, that when an Ambassador is dispatched from the Republick to any foreign state he shall be allowed, out of the Treasury, to the value of a Shilling a day. The people are esteemed very honest and rigorous in the execution of justice, and

[1] the] my, 1705.
[2] any] a, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[4] who] that, 1705.

seem to live more happy and contented among their rocks and snows, than others of the *Italians* do in the pleasantest vallies of the world. Nothing indeed can be a greater instance of the natural love that mankind has for liberty, and of their aversion to an arbitrary government, than such a savage mountain covered with people, and the *Campania* of *Rome*, which [1] lyes in the same country, almost destitute of inhabitants.

Pesaro, *Fano*, *Senigallia*, *Ancona*, *Loretto*, &c. to *Rome*.

FROM *Rimini* to *Loretto* the towns of note are *Pesaro*, *Fano*, *Senigallia* and *Ancona*. *Fano* received its name from the Fane or Temple [2] of Fortune that stood in it. One may still see the triumphal Arch erected there [3] to *Augustus*: It is indeed very much defaced by time; but the plan of it, as it stood entire with all its inscriptions, is neatly cut upon the wall of a neighbouring building. In each of these towns is a beautiful marble Fountain, where the water runs continually through several little spouts, which looks very refreshing in these hot countries, and gives a great coolness to the air about them.[4] That of *Pesaro* is handsomely [5] designed. *Ancona* is much the most considerable of these towns. It stands on a Promontory, and looks more beautiful at a distance than when you are in it. The Port was made by *Trajan*, for which he has a triumphal Arch erected to him by the sea-side. The marble of this Arch looks very white and fresh, as being exposed to the winds and salt sea-vapours, that by continually fretting it preserves it self from that mouldy

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] from the Fane or Temple] from the Temple, 1705.
[3] erected there] that was there erected, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705. [5] handsomely] prettily, 1705.

colour, which others of the same materials [1] have contracted. Though the *Italians* and voyage-writers call these of *Rimini*, *Fano*, and *Ancona* Triumphal arches, there was probably some distinction made among the *Romans* between such Honorary arches erected to Emperors, and those that were raised to them [2] on the account of victory,[3] which are properly Triumphal arches. This at *Ancona* was an instance of gratitude to *Trajan* for the Port he had made there, as the two others I have mentioned were probably for some reason of the same nature. One may however observe the wisdom of the ancient *Romans*, who [4] to encourage their Emperors in their inclination of doing good to their country, gave the same honours to the great actions of peace, which turned to the advantage of the publick, as to those of war. This is very remarkable in the Medals that are [5] stamped on the same occasions. I remember to have seen one of *Galba*'s with a triumphal Arch on the reverse, that was made by the Senate's order for his having remitted a tax. *R. XXXX. REMISSA. S. C.* The Medal which was made for *Trajan* in remembrance of [Plate I.] his beneficence to *Ancona* is very common. The reverse has on it a Port with a chain running a-cross it, and betwixt them [2] both a Boat with this inscription, *S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S. C.* I know *Fabretti* would fain ascribe this Medal to another occasion, but *Bellorio*, in his additions to *Angeloni*, has sufficiently refuted all he says on that subject.[6]

At *Loretto* I enquired for the *English* Jesuits lodgings, and on the stair-case that leads to them,[7] I saw several pictures of such as had been executed in *England*, as the two *Garnets*, *Old-corn*, and others, to [8] the number of thirty. Whatever were their crimes, the inscription says they suffered for their religion, and some of them [7] are represented lying under such tortures as are not in use among us. The martyrs of 1679 are set by themselves, with a knife

[1] materials] Matter, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] of victory] of a Victory, 1705, 1718.
[4] who] that, 1705. [5] are] were, 1705.
[6] *Bellorio* . . . subject] *Bellorio* has sufficiently refuted all he says, in his Additions to *Angeloni*. 1705.
[7] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [8] others, to] others to, 1705, 1718.

stuck in the bosom of each figure, to signify that they[1] were quartered.

The riches in the Holy House and Treasury are surprizingly great, and as much surpassed my expectation, as other sights have generally fallen short of it. Silver can scarce find an admission, and Gold it self looks but poorly among such an incredible number of precious stones. There will be, in a few ages more, the Jewels of the greatest value in *Europe*, if the devotion of its Princes continues in its present fervour. The last Offering was made by the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, and cost her 18000 crowns. Some have wondered that the *Turk* never attacks this Treasury, since it lyes so near the sea-shore, and is so weakly guarded. But besides that he has attempted it formerly with no success, it is certain the *Venetians* keep too watchful an eye over his motions at present, and would never suffer him to enter the *Adriatic*. It would indeed be an easie thing for a Christian Prince to surprize it, who has ships still passing to and fro without suspicion, especially if he had a party in the town, disguised like Pilgrims, to secure a gate for him ; for there have been sometimes to the number of 100000 in a day's time, as it is generally reported. But 'tis probable the veneration for the Holy House, and the horror of an action that would be resented by all the Catholick Princes of *Europe*, will be as great a security to the place as the strongest fortification. It is indeed an amazing thing to see such a prodigious quantity of riches lye dead, and untouched in the midst of so much poverty and misery, as reign on all sides of them.[2] There is no question, however, but the Pope would make use of these treasures in case of any great calamity that should endanger the Holy See ; as an unfortunate war with the *Turk*, or a powerful league among the Protestants. For I cannot[3] but look on those vast heaps of wealth, that are amassed together in so many religious places of *Italy*, as the hidden reserves and magazines[4] of the Church, that she would open on any pressing occasion for her last defence and preservation. If these riches were all turned into

[1] to signify that they] to give notice they, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [3] cannot] can't, 1705, 1718.
[4] and magazines] and secret Magazines, 1705.

current coin, and employed in commerce, they would make *Italy* the most flourishing country in *Europe*. The Case of the Holy House is nobly designed, and executed by the great Masters of *Italy*, that flourished about a hundred years ago. The Statues of the *Sibyls* are very finely wrought, each of them [1] in a different air and posture, as are likewise those of the Prophets underneath them.[1] The roof of the treasury is painted with the same kind of device. There stands at the upper end of it a large Crucifix very much esteemed; the figure of our Saviour represents him in his last agonies of death, and amidst all the ghastliness of the visage has something in it very amiable. The gates of the church are said to be of *Corinthian* brass, with many scripture stories rising on them [1] in *Basso Relievo*. The Pope's statue, and the fountain by it, would make a noble show in a place less beautified with so many other productions of art.[2] The spicery, the cellar and its furniture, the great revenues of the convent, with the story of the Holy House, are too well known to be here insisted upon.[3]

Whoever were the first inventors of this Imposture, they seem to have taken the hint of it from the veneration that the old *Romans* paid to the cottage of *Romulus*, which stood on mount *Capitol*, and was repaired from time to time as it fell to decay. *Virgil* has given a pretty image of this little thatched palace, that represents it standing in *Manlius*'s time, 327 years after the death of *Romulus*.

In summo custos Tarpeiæ Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et capitolia celsa tenebat:
Romuleoque recens horrebat Regia culmo. Æn. L. 8.

High on a rock heroick *Manlius* stood
To guard the temple, and the temple's god:
Then *Rome* was poor, and there you might behold
The palace thatch'd with straw. *Dryden.*

From *Loretto*, in my way to *Rome*, I passed through *Recanati*, *Macerata*, *Tolentino*, and *Foligni*. In the last

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [2] in a place . . . art] in another Place. 1705.
[3] to . . . upon] to need a Description. 1705.

there is a convent of Nuns called *la Contessa*, that has in the church an incomparable *Madonna* of *Raphael*.[1] At *Spoletto*, the next town on the road, are some antiquities. The most remarkable is an Aquæduct of a *Gothic* structure, that conveys the water from mount St. *Francis* to *Spoletto*, which is not to be equalled for its height by any other in *Europe*. They reckon from the foundation of the lowest arch to the top of it 230 yards. In my way hence to *Terni* I saw the river *Clitumnus*, celebrated by so many of the Poets for a particular quality in its waters of making cattle white that drink of it. The inhabitants of that country have still the same opinion of it, as I found upon enquiry, and have a great many oxen of a whitish colour to confirm them[2] in it. It is probable this breed was first settled in the country, and continuing still the same species, has made the inhabitants impute it to a wrong cause; though they may as well fancy their hogs turn black for some reason of the same nature, because there are none in *Italy* of any other breed. The river *Clitumnus*, and *Mevania* that stood on the banks of it, are famous for the herds of victims with which they furnished all *Italy*.

Qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
Integit, et niveos abluit unda boves. Prop. L. 2.
Hinc Albi Clitumne greges, et maxima taurus
Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro
Romanos ad templa Deûm duxere triumphos. Geor. 2 Virg.

There flows *Clitumnus* through the flow'ry plain;
Whose waves, for triumphs after prosp'rous war,
The victim ox, and snowy sheep prepare.

——*Patulis Clitumnus in arvis*
Candentes gelido profundit flumine tauros. Sil. Ital. L. 2.
——*Tauriferis ubi se Mevania campis*
Explicat—————— Luc. L. 1.
——*Atque ubi latis*
Projecta in campis nebulas exhalat inertes,

[1] that has . . . *Raphael*] that has an incomparable Madonna of Raphels in the Church, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

Et sedet ingentem pascens Mevania taurum,
Dona Jovi———————— Id. L. 6.
——Nec si vacuet Mevania valles,
Aut præstent niveos Clitumna novalia tauros,
Sufficiam———————— Stat. Syl. L. 1.
Pinguior Hispullâ traheretur taurus et ipsâ
Mole piger, non finitimâ nutritus in herbâ,
Læta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
Iret, et à grandi cervix ferienda ministro. Juv. Sat. 12.

A Bull high fed should fall the sacrifice,
One of *Hispulla*'s huge prodigious size:
Not one of those our neighb'ring pastures feed,
But of *Clitumnus* whitest sacred breed:
The lively tincture of whose gushing blood
Should clearly prove the richness of his food;
A neck so strong, so large, as would command
The speeding blow of some uncommon hand. Mr. *Congreve.*

I shall afterwards have occasion[1] to quote *Claudian.*

Terni is the next town in course, formerly called *Interamna,* for the same reason that a part of *Asia* was named *Mesopotamia.* We enter at the gate of the three monuments, so called, because there stood near it a monument erected to *Tacitus* the historian, with two others to the Emperors *Tacitus* and *Florianus,* all of them[2] natives of the place. These were a few years ago demolished by thunder, and the fragments of them[2] are in the hands of some Gentlemen of the town. Near the dome I was shown a square marble, inserted in the wall, with the following Inscription.

Saluti perpetuæ Augustæ
Libertatique Publicæ Populi Romani
Genio municipi Anno post
Interamnam Conditam.
D. CC. IV.

Ad Cnejum Domitium Ahenobarbum.————————Coss.
providentiæ Ti. Cæsaris Augusti nati ad Æternitatem Romam[3] *nominis*

[1] shall . . . *Claudian*] shall have occasion to mention *Claudian* afterwards. 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] *Romam*] *Romani,* 1705, 1718.

sublato hoste perniciosissimo P. R. Faustus Titius Liberalis VI. *vir iterum. P. S. F. C.* that is, *pecunia sua fieri curavit.*

This stone was probably set up on occasion of the fall of *Sejanus*. After the name of *Ahenobarbus* there is a little furrow in the marble, but so smooth and well polished, that I should not have taken notice of it had not I seen *Coss.* at the end of it, by which it is plain there was once the name of another consul, which has been industriously razed out. *Lucius Aruncius Camillus Scribonianus* was consul under the reign of * *Tiberius*, and was afterwards put to death for a conspiracy that he had formed against the Emperor *Claudius*; at which time it was ordered that his name and consulate should be effaced out of all publick registers and inscriptions. It is not therefore improbable, that it was this long name which filled up the gap I am now mentioning. There are near this monument the ruines of an ancient Theatre, with some of the caves entire. I saw among the ruines an old heathen altar, with this particularity in it, that it is hollowed, like a dish, at one end; but it was not this end on which the sacrifice was laid, as one may guess from the make of the festoon, that runs round the altar, and [1] is inverted when the hollow stands uppermost. In the same yard, among the rubbish of the Theatre, lye two pillars, the one of granate, and the other of a very beautiful marble. I went out of my way to see the famous *Cascade* about [2] three miles from *Terni*. It is formed by the fall of the river *Velino*, which [3] *Virgil* mentions in the seventh *Æneid*——*Rosea rura Velini.*

The channel of this river lyes very high, and is shaded on all sides by a green forest, made up of several kinds of trees that preserve their verdure all the year. The neighbouring mountains are covered with them,[4] and, by reason of their height, are more exposed to the dews and drizzling rains than any of the adjacent parts, which gives occasion to *Virgil*'s *Rosea rura*, (dewy countries.) The river runs

* Vid. Fast. Consul. Sicul.

[1] and] which, 1705.
[2] *Cascade* about] *Cascade* that lyes about, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.

extremely rapid before its fall, and rushes down a precipice of a hundred yards high. It throws it self into the hollow of a rock, which[1] has probably been worn by such a constant fall of water. It is impossible to see the bottom on which it breaks for the thickness of the mist that rises from it, which looks at a distance like clouds of smoak ascending from some vast furnace, and distils in perpetual rains on all the places that lye near it. I think there is something more astonishing in this *Cascade*, than in all the water-works of *Versailles*, and could not but wonder when I first saw it, that I had never met with it in any of the old Poets, especially in *Claudian*, who makes his Emperor *Honorius* go out of his way to see the river *Nar* which[1] runs just below it, and yet does not mention what would have been so great an embelishment to his Poem. But at present I do not[2] in the least question, notwithstanding the opinion of some learned men to the contrary, that[3] this is the gulf through which *Virgil*'s *Alecto* shoots her self into Hell: For the very place, the great reputation of it, the fall of waters, the woods that encompass it, with the smoke and noise that arise from it, are all pointed at in the description. Perhaps he would not mention the name of the river, because he has done it in the verses that precede. We may add to this, that the *Cascade* is not far off that part of *Italy*, which has been call'd *Italiæ Meditullium*.

Est locus Italiæ medio, sub montibus altis,
Nobilis, et famâ multis memoratus in oris,
Amsancti valles, densis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
Dat sonitum saxis et torto vortice torrens:
Hic specus horrendum, et sævi spiracula Ditis
Monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces, queis condita Erinnys
Invisum[4] *numen terras cælumque levabat.* Æn. 7.

In midst of *Italy*, well known to fame,
There lies a vale, *Amsanctus* is the name,

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[3] that] but, 1705.
[4] *Invisum*] *In visum*, 1705.

Below the lofty mounts: On either side
Thick forests the forbidden entrance hide:
Full in the centre of the sacred wood
An arm ariseth of the *Stygian* flood;
Which falling from on high, with bellowing sound
Whirls the black waves and ratling stones around.
Here *Pluto* pants for breath from out his cell,
And opens wide the grinning jaws of Hell.
To this infernal gate the Fury flies,
Here hides her hated head, and frees the lab'ring skies. *Dryden.*

It was indeed the most proper[1] place in the world for a Fury to make her *Exit*, after she had filled a nation with distractions and alarms; and I believe every reader's imagination is pleased, when he sees the angry Goddess thus sinking, as it were, in a tempest, and plunging her self into Hell, amidst such a scene of horror and confusion.

The river *Velino*, after having found its way out from among the rocks where it falls, runs into the *Nera*. The channel of this last river is white with rocks, and the surface of it, for a long space, covered with froth and bubbles; for it runs all along upon the fret, and is still breaking against the stones that oppose its passage: So that for these reasons, as well as for the mixture of sulphur in its waters, it is very well described by *Virgil*, in that verse which mentions these two rivers in their old *Roman* names.

Tartaream intendit vocem, quâ protinus omne
Contremuit nemus, et sylvæ intonuere profundæ,
Audiit et longè Triviæ lacus, audiit amnis
Sulfureâ Nar albus aquâ, fontesque Velini. Æn. 7.

The sacred lake of *Trivia* from afar,
The *Veline* fountains, and sulphureous *Nar*,
Shake at the baleful blast, the signal of the war. *Dryden.*

He makes the sound of the Fury's trumpet run up the *Nera* to the very sources of *Velino*, which agrees extremely well with the situation of these rivers. When *Virgil* has marked any particular quality in a river, the other Poets seldom fail of copying after him.

[1] the most proper] the properest, 1705.

———*Sulphureus Nar.* Auson.
———*Narque albescentibus undis*
In Tibrim properans—— Sil. It. L. 8.
———*Et Nar vitiatus odoro*
Sulfure—— Claud. de Pr. et Olyb. Cons.

———The hoary *Nar*
Corrupted with the stench of sulphur flows,
And into *Tiber*'s streams th' infected current throws.

From this river our next town on the road receives the name of *Narni*. I saw hereabouts nothing remarkable except *Augustus*'s bridge, that stands half a mile from the town, and is one of the stateliest ruins in *Italy*. It has no cement, and looks as firm as one entire stone. There is an arch of it unbroken, the broadest that I have ever seen, though by reason of its great height it does not appear so. The middle one was still much broader. They join together two mountains, and belonged, without doubt, to the bridge that *Martial* mentions, though Mr. *Ray* takes them [1] to be the remains of an Aquæduct.[2]

Sed jam parce mihi, nec abutere Narnia quinto,
Perpetuo liceat sic tibi ponte frui! L. 7.

Preserve my better part, and spare my friend;
So, *Narni*, may thy bridge for ever stand.

From *Narni* I went to *Otricoli*, a very mean little village, that stands where the castle of *Ocriculum* did formerly. I turned about half a mile out of the road to see the ruines of the old *Ocriculum*, that lye near the banks of the *Tiber*. There are still scattered pillars and pedestals, huge pieces of marble half buried in the earth, fragments of towers, subterraneous vaults, bathing places, and the like marks of its ancient magnificence.

In my way to *Rome*, seeing a high hill standing by it self in the *Campania*, I did not question but it had a *Classic* name, and upon enquiry found it to be mount *Soracte*. The *Italians* at present call it, because its name begins with an *S*. St. *Oreste*.

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[2] an Aquæduct] an ancient Aquæduct, 1705, 1718.

The fatigue of our crossing the *Appenines*, and of our whole journey from *Loretto* to *Rome*, was very agreeably relieved by the variety of scenes we passed through. For not to mention the rude prospect of rocks [1] rising one above another, of the gutters deep [2] worn in the sides of them [3] by [4] torrents of rain and snow-water, or the long channels of sand winding about their bottoms, that are sometimes filled [5] with so many rivers: we saw, in six days travelling, the several seasons of the year in their beauty and perfection. We were sometimes shivering on the top of a bleak mountain, and a little while after basking [6] in a warm valley, covered [7] with violets and almond-trees in blossom, the [8] Bees already swarming over them,[3] though but in the month of *February*. Sometimes our road led us through groves of Olives, or by gardens of Oranges, or into several hollow apartments among the rocks and mountains, that look like so many natural green-houses; as being always shaded [9] with a great variety of trees and shrubs that never lose their verdure.

I shall say nothing of the *Via Flaminia*, which has been spoken of by most of [10] the voyage-writers that have passed it, but shall set down *Claudian*'s account [11] of the journey that *Honorius* made from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, which lyes most of it in the same road that I have been describing.

——*Antiquæ muros egressa Ravennæ*
Signa movet, jamque ora Padi portusque relinquit
Flumineos, certis ubi legibus advena Nereus
Æstuat, et pronas puppes nunc amne secundo
Nunc redeunte vehit, nudataque littora fluctu
Deserit, oceani lunaribus æmula damnis;
Lætior hinc fano recipit Fortuna vetusto,

[1] prospect . . . rocks] Prospects of so many Rocks, 1705.
[2] gutters deep] deep Gutters, 1705, 1718.
[3] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[4] by] by the, 1705.
[5] filled] covered, 1705.
[6] basking] Sweating, 1705.
[7] covered] planted, 1705.
[8] the] with the, 1705.
[9] shaded] covered, 1705.
[10] spoken . . . of] describ'd by all, 1705.
[11] account] Description, 1705.

Despiciturque vagus præruptâ valle Metaurus,
* *Quà mons arte patens vivo se perforat arcu,*
Admisitque viam sectæ per viscera rupis,
Exuperans delubra Jovis, saxoque minantes
Apenninigenis cultas pastoribus aras:
Quin et Clitumni sacras victoribus undas,
Candida quæ latiis præbent armenta triumphis,
Visere cura fuit. Nec te miracula fontis †
Prætereunt: tacito passu quem si quis adiret,
Lentus erat: si voce gradum majore citâsset,
Commistis fervebat aquis cùmque omnibus una
Sit natura vadis, similes ut corporis umbras
Ostendant: hæc sola novam jactantia sortem
Humanos properant imitari flumina mores.
Celsa dehinc patulum prospectans Narnia campum
Regali calcatur equo, rarique coloris
Non procul amnis adest, urbi qui nominis auctor
Ilice sub densâ sylvis arctatus opacis
Inter utrumque jugum tortis anfractibus albet.
Inde salutato libatis Tibride nymphis,
Excipiunt arcus, operosaque semita, vastis
Molibus, et quicquid tantæ præmittitur urbi. De 6. Cons. Hon.

They leave *Ravenna*, and the mouths of *Po*,
That all the borders of the town o'er-flow;
And spreading round in one continu'd lake,
A spacious hospitable harbour make.
Hither the seas at stated times resort,
And shove the loaden vessels into port:
Then with a gentle ebb retire again,
And render back their cargo to the main.
So the pale moon the restless ocean guides,
Driv'n to and fro by such submissive tides.
Fair Fortune next, with looks serene and kind,
Receives 'em, in her ancient fane enshrin'd;
Then the high hills they cross, and from below
In distant murmurs hear *Metaurus* flow;

* An Highway made by *Vespasian*, like the *Grotto Obscuro* [1] near *Naples*.
† This fountain not known.

[1] *Obscuro*] *Oscuro*, 1705, 1718.

'Till to *Clitumno*'s sacred streams they come,
That send white victims to almighty *Rome*;
When her triumphant sons in war succeed,
And slaughter'd hecatombs around 'em bleed.
At *Narni*'s lofty seats arriv'd, from far
They view the windings of the hoary *Nar*;
Through rocks and woods impetuously he glides,
While froth and foam the fretting surface hides.
And now the royal guest, all dangers pass'd,
Old *Tiber* and his Nymphs salutes at last;
The long laborious pavement here he treads,
That to proud *Rome* th' admiring nations leads:
While stately vaults and tow'ring piles appear,
And show the world's Metropolis is near.

Silius Italicus, who has taken more pains on the Geography of *Italy* than any other of the *Latin* Poets, has given a catalogue of most of the rivers that I saw in *Umbria*, or in the borders of it. He has avoided a fault (if it be really such) which [1] *Macrobius* has objected to *Virgil*, of passing from one place to another, without regarding their regular and natural situation, in which *Homer*'s catalogues are observed to be much more methodical and exact than *Virgil*'s.

——*Cavis venientes montibus Umbri,*
Hos Æsis Sapisque lavant, rapidasque sonanti
Vortice contorquens undas per saxa Metaurus,
Et lavat ingentem perfundens flumine sacro
Clitumnus taurum, Narque albescentibus undis
In Tibrim properans, Tineæque inglorius humor,
Et Clanis, et Rubico, et Senonum de nomine Senon.
Sed pater ingenti medios illabitur amne
Albula, et immotâ perstringit mœnia ripâ,
His urbes arva, et latis Mevania pratis,
Hispellum, et duro monti per saxa recumbens
Narnia, &c.———————————— Sil. It. L. 8.

Since I am got among the Poets, I shall end this chapter with two or three passages out of them,[2] that I have omitted inserting in their proper places.

[1] which] that, 1705.

[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

Sit cisterna mihi quam vinea malo Ravennæ,
Cùm possim multo vendere pluris aquam. Mar. L. 5.

Lodg'd at *Ravenna*, (water sells so dear)
A cistern to a vineyard I prefer.

Callidus imposuit nuper mihi caupo Ravennæ;
Cum peterem mixtum, vendidit ille merum. Id.

By a *Ravenna* vintner once betray'd,
So much for wine and water mix'd I paid;
But when I thought the purchas'd liquor mine,
The rascal fobb'd me off with only wine.

Stat fucare colus nec Sidone vilior Ancon,
Murice nec Tyrio.———— Sil. It. L. 8.

The wool when shaded with *Ancona*'s dye,
May with the proudest *Tyrian* purple vie.

Fountain water is still very scarce at *Ravenna*, and was probably much more so, when the sea was[1] within its neighbourhood.

From *ROME* to *NAPLES.*

UPON[2] my arrival at *Rome* I took a view of St. *Peters*, and the *Rotunda*, leaving the rest 'till my return from *Naples*, when I should have time and leisure enough to consider what I saw. St. *Peters* seldom answers expectation at first entering it, but enlarges it self on all sides insensibly, and mends upon the eye every moment. The proportions are so very well observed, that nothing appears to an advantage, or distinguishes it self above the rest. It seems neither extremely high, nor long, nor broad, because it is all of them[3] in a just equality. As

[1] was] lay, 1705. [2] Upon] Immediately upon, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.

on the contrary in our *Gothic* cathedrals, the narrowness of the arch makes it rise in height, or run out in length; the lowness often opens it in breadth, or the defectiveness of some other particular makes any single part appear in great [1] perfection. Though every thing in this Church is admirable, the most astonishing part of it is the Cupola. Upon my going to the top of it, I was surprised to find that the Dome, which we see in the church, is not the same that one looks upon without doors, the last of them [2] being a kind of case to the other, and the stairs lying betwixt them [2] both, by which one ascends into the ball. Had there been only the outward dome, it would not have shewn it self to an advantage to those that are in the church; or had there only been the inward one, it would scarce have been seen by those that are without; had they both been one solid dome of so great a thickness, the pillars would have been too weak to have supported it. After having surveyed this dome, I went to see the *Rotunda*, which is generally said to have been the model of it. This church is at present so much changed from the ancient *Pantheon*, as *Pliny* has described it, that some have been inclined to think it is not the same temple; but the Cavalier *Fontana* has abundantly satisfyed the world in this particular, and shewn how the ancient figure, and ornaments of the *Pantheon*, have been changed into what they are at present. This Author, who is now esteemed the best of the *Roman* Architects, has lately written a treatise on *Vespasian*'s Amphitheater, which is not yet printed.

After having seen these two master-pieces of modern and ancient architecture, I have often considered with my self whether the ordinary figure of the heathen, or that of the christian temples be the most beautiful, and the most capable of magnificence, and cannot [3] forbear thinking the cross figure more proper for such spacious buildings than the *Rotund*. I must confess the eye is better filled at first entering the *Rotund*, and takes in the whole beauty and magnificence of the temple at one view. But such as are built in the form of a cross, give us a greater variety

[1] great] greater, 1705, 1718.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705, 1718.

of noble prospects. Nor is it easie to conceive a more glorious show in Architecture, than what a man meets with in St. *Peters*, when he stands under the dome. If he looks upward he is astonished at the spacious hollow of the cupola, and has a vault on every side of him, that makes one of the beautifullest *Vistas* that the eye can possibly pass through. I know that such as are professed admirers of the ancients, will find abundance of chimerical beauties the [1] Architects themselves never thought of, as one of the most famous of the moderns in that art tells us, the hole in the roof of the [2] *Rotunda* is so admirably contrived, that it makes those who are in the Temple look like Angels, by diffusing the light equally on all sides of them.[3]

In all the old high-ways, that lead from *Rome*, one sees several little ruines on each side of them,[3] that were formerly so many sepulchres; for the ancient *Romans* generally buryed their dead near the great roads.

Quorum Flaminiâ tegitur cinis atque Latinâ. Juv. S. 1.[4]

None, but some few of a very extraordinary quality, having been interred [5] within the walls of the city.

Our christian epitaphs, that are to be seen only in churches, or churchyards, begin often with a *Siste Viator. Viator precare salutem*, &c. probably in imitation of the old *Roman* inscriptions, that generally addressed themselves to the travellers; as it was impossible for them [3] to enter the city, or to go out of it without passing through one of these melancholy roads, which [6] for a great length was nothing else but a street of funeral monuments.

In my way from *Rome* to *Naples* I found nothing so remarkable as the beauty of the country, and the extreme poverty of its inhabitants. It is indeed an amazing thing to see the present desolation of *Italy*, when one considers what incredible multitudes of people it abounded with during the reigns of the *Roman* Emperors: And notwithstanding the removal of the Imperial seat, the irruptions

[1] the] that the, 1705.
[2] the roof of the] the, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[4] Juv. S. 1.] I. L. 1., 1705.
[5] having . . . interred] being permitted to lay their Ashes, 1705.
[6] which] that, 1705.

of the barbarous nations, the civil wars of this country, with the hardships of its several governments, one can scarce imagine how so plentiful a soil should become so miserably unpeopled in comparison of what it once was. We may reckon, by a very moderate computation, more inhabitants in the *Campania* of old *Rome*, than are now in all *Italy*. And if we could number up those prodigious swarms that [1] had settled themselves in every part of this delightful country, I question not but that they [2] would amount to more than can be found, at present, in any six parts of *Europe* of the same extent. This desolation appears no where greater than in the Pope's territories, and yet there are several reasons would [3] make a man expect to see these dominions the best regulated, and most flourishing of any other in *Europe*. Their Prince is generally a man of learning and virtue, mature in years and experience, who has seldom any vanity or pleasure to gratify at his people's expence, and is neither encumbered with wife, children or mistresses; not to mention the supposed sanctity of his character, which [4] obliges him in a more particular manner to consult the good and happiness of mankind. The direction of church and state are lodged entirely in his own hands, so that his government is naturally free from those principles of faction and division which [4] are mixed in the very composition of most others. His subjects are always ready to fall in with his designs, and are more at his disposal than any others of the most absolute government, as they have a greater veneration for his person, and not only court his favour but his blessing. His country is extremely fruitful, and has good havens both for the Adriatick and Mediterranean, which is an advantage peculiar to himself and the *Neapolitans* above the rest of the *Italians*. There is still a benefit the [5] Pope enjoys above all other soveraigns, in drawing great sums out of *Spain*, *Germany*, and other countries that belong to foreign Princes, which one would fancy might be no small ease to his own subjects. We may here add, that there is no place in *Europe* so

[1] that] of People that, 1705.
[2] but that they] but they, 1705.
[3] would] that would, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.
[5] the] that the, 1705.

much frequented by strangers, whether they are such as come out of curiosity, or such who[1] are obliged to attend the court of *Rome* on several occasions, as are many of the Cardinals and Prelates, that bring considerable sums into the Pope's dominions. But notwithstanding all these promising circumstances, and the long peace that has reigned so many years in *Italy*, there is not a more miserable people in *Europe* than the Pope's subjects. His state is thin of inhabitants, and a great part of his soil uncultivated. His subjects are wretchedly poor and idle, and have neither sufficient manufactures, nor[2] traffick to employ them.[3] These ill effects may arise, in a great measure, out of the arbitrariness of the government, but I think they are chiefly to be ascribed to the very genius of the *Roman* catholick religion, which here shews it self in its perfection. It is not strange to find a country half unpeopled, where so great a proportion of the inhabitants of both sexes is tyed under such[4] vows of chastity, and where at the same time an inquisition forbids all recruits out of[5] any other religion. Nor is it less easy to account for the great poverty and want that are to be met with in a country which[6] invites into it such swarms of vagabonds, under the title of Pilgrims, and shuts up in cloisters such an incredible multitude of young and lusty beggars, who,[7] instead of encreasing the common stock by their labour and industry, lye as a dead weight on their fellow subjects, and consume the charity that ought to support the sickly, old and decrepid. The many hospitals, that are every where erected, serve rather to encourage idleness in the people, than to set them[3] at work; not to mention the great riches which[6] lye useless in churches and religious houses, with the multitude of festivals that must never be violated by trade or business. To speak truly, they are here so wholly taken up with mens souls, that they neglect the good of their bodies; and when, to these natural evils in the government and religion, there arises among them[3] an avaritious Pope,

[1] who] as, 1705.
[2] nor] or, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[4] under such] under, 1705.
[5] out of] of, 1705.
[6] which] that, 1705.
[7] who] that, 1705.

who [1] is for making a family, it is no wonder if the people sink under such a complication of distempers. Yet it is to this humour of Nepotism that *Rome* owes its present splendour and magnificence; for it would have been impossible to have furnished out so many glorious palaces with such a profusion of pictures, statues, and the like ornaments, had not the riches of the people at several times fallen into the hands of many different families, and of particular persons; as we may observe, though the bulk of the *Roman* people was more rich and happy in the times of the Common-wealth, the city of *Rome* received all its beauties and embellishments under the Emperors. It is probable the *Campania* of *Rome*, as well as other parts of the Pope's territories, would be cultivated much better than it is, were there not such an exorbitant tax on corn, which makes them [2] plow up only such spots of ground as turn to the most advantage: Whereas were the money to be raised on lands, with an exception to some of the more barren parts, that might be tax-free for a certain term of years, every one would turn his ground to the best account, and in a little time perhaps bring more money into the Pope's treasury.

The greatest pleasure I took in my journey from *Rome* to *Naples* was in seeing the fields, towns and rivers that have been described by so many *Classic* Authors, and have been the scenes of so many great actions; for this whole road is extremely barren of curiosities. It is worth while to have an eye on *Horace*'s voyage to *Brundisi*, when one passes this way; for by comparing his several stages, and the road he took, with those that are observed at present, we may have some idea of the changes that have been made in the face of this country since his time. If we may guess at the common travelling of persons of Quality, among the ancient *Romans*, from this Poet's description of his voyage, we may conclude they seldom went above fourteen miles a day over the *Appian* way, which was more used by the Noble *Romans* than any other in *Italy*, as it led to *Naples*, *Baiæ*, and the most delightful parts of the nation. It is indeed

[1] who] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

very disagreeable to be carryed in haste over this pavement.

Minùs est gravis Appia tardis. Hor.

Lucan has described the very road from *Anxur* to *Rome*, that *Horace* took from *Rome* to *Anxur*. It is not indeed the ordinary way at present, nor is it marked out by the same places in both Poets.

Jamque et præcipites superaverat Anxuris arces,
Et quà Pontinas via dividit uda paludes,*
Quà sublime nemus, Scythicæ quà regna Dianæ;
Quàque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam.
Excelsâ de rupe procul jam conspicit urbem. L. 3.

He now had conquer'd *Anxur*'s steep ascent,
And to *Pontina*'s watry marshes went,
A long canal the muddy fenn divides,
And with a clear unsully'd current glides;
Diana's woody realms he next invades,
And crossing through the consecrated shades
Ascends high *Alba*, whence with new delight
He sees the city rising to his sight.

In my way to *Naples* I crossed the two most considerable rivers of the *Campania Felice*, that were formerly called the *Liris* and *Vulturnus*, and are at present the *Garigliano* and *Vulturno*. The first of these rivers has been deservedly celebrated by the *Latin* Poets for the gentleness of its course, as the other for its rapidity and noise.

——Rura quæ Liris quietâ
Mordet aquâ, taciturnus amnis. H. Li. 1. Od. 30.
Liris——qui fonte quieto
Dissimulat cursum, et nullo mutabilis imbre
Perstringit tacitas gemmanti gurgite ripas. Sil. It. L. 4.
———Miscentem flumina Lirim
Sulfureum, tacitisque vadis ad littora lapsum
Accolit Arpinas——— Id. L. 8.

* *A Canal, the marks of it still seen.*

Where the smooth streams of *Liris* stray,
And steal insensibly away.
The warlike *Arpine* borders on the sides
Of the slow *Liris*, that in silence glides,
And in its tainted stream the working sulphur hides.

Vulturnusque rapax—— Cl. de Pr. et Ol. Con.
Vulturnusque celer——— Luc. L. 2. 28.
———*Fluctuque sonorum*
Vulturnum——— Sil. It. L. 8.

The rough *Vulturnus*, furious in its course,
With rapid streams divides the fruitful grounds,
And from afar in hollow murmurs sounds.

The ruines of *Anxur* and old *Capua* mark out[1] the pleasant situation in which those towns formerly stood. The first of them was planted on the mountain, where we now see *Terracina*, and by reason of the breezes that came off the Sea, and the height of its situation, was one of the summer retirements of the ancient *Romans*.

O nemus, O fontes! solidumque madentis arenæ
Littus, et æquoreis splendidus Anxur aquis! Mar. L. 10.

Ye warbling fountains, and ye shady trees,
Where *Anxur* feels the cool refreshing breeze
Blown off the sea, and all the dewy strand
Lyes cover'd with a smooth unsinking sand!

Anxuris æquorei placidos frontine recessus
Et propius Baias littoreamque domum,
Et quod inhumanæ Cancro fervente Cicadæ
Non novere, nemus, flumineosque lacus
Dum colui, &c.——— Id.

On the cool shore, near *Baja*'s gentle seats,
I lay retir'd in *Anxur*'s soft retreats.
Where silver lakes, with verdant shadows crown'd,
Disperse a grateful chilness all around;
The Grasshopper avoids th' untainted air,
Nor in the midst of summer ventures there.

[1] mark out] show us, 1705.

Impositum saxis latè candentibus Anxur. Hor. S. 5. L. 1.
Monte procelloso Murranum miserat Anxur. Sil. It. L. 4.
———*Scopulosi verticis Anxur.* S. It. L. 4.
Capuæ Luxum vide apud. Sil. It. L. 11.

Murranus came from *Anxur*'s show'ry height,
With ragged rocks, and stony quarries white;
Seated on hills———————

I don't know whether it be worth while to take notice that the figures, which are cut in the rock near *Terracina*, encrease still in a decimal proportion as they come nearer the bottom. If one of our voyage-writers, who passed this way more than once, had observed the situation of these figures, he would not have troubled himself with the dissertation that he has made upon them.[1] *Silius Italicus* has given us the names of several towns and rivers in the *Campania Felice*.

Jam verò quos dives opum, quos dives avorum,
Et toto dabat ad bellum Campania tractu;
Ductorum adventum vicinis sedibus Osci
Servabant; Sinuessa tepens, fluctuque sonorum
Vulturnum, quasque evertere silentia, Amyclæ,
Fundique et regnata Lamo Cajeta, domusque
Antiphatæ compressa freto, stagnisque palustre
Linternum, et quondam fatorum conscia Cuma,
Illic Nuceriæ, et Gaurus navalibus apta,
Prole Dicharchæâ multo cum milite Graja
Illic Parthenope, et Pæno non pervia Nola.
Alliphe, et Clanio contemtæ semper Acerræ.
Sarrastes etiam populos totasque videres
Sarni mitis opes: illic quos Sulphure pingues
Phlegræi legere sinus, Misenus et ardens
Ore gigantæo sedes Ithacesia, Bajæ,
Non Prochite, non ardentem sortita Tiphæa
Inarime, non antiqui saxosa Telonis
Insula, nec parvis aberat Calatia muris,
Surrentum, et pauper sulci Cerealis Avella,

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

In primis Capua, heu rebus servare Secundis
Inconsulta modum, et pravo peritura tumore. L. 8.

NAPLES.

MY first days at *Naples* were taken up with the sight of processions, which are always very magnificent in the Holy-Week. It would be tedious to give an account of the several representations of our Saviour's death and resurrection, of the figures of himself, the Blessed Virgin, and the Apostles, which are carryed up and down on this occasion, with the cruel penances that several inflict on themselves, and the multitude of ceremonies that attend these solemnities. I saw, at the same time, a very splendid procession for the accession of the Duke of *Anjou* to the Crown of *Spain*, in which the Vice-Roy bore his part at the left-hand of Cardinal *Cantelmi*. To grace the parade, they exposed, at the same time, the blood of St. *Januarius*, which liquefyed at the approach of the Saint's head, though, as they say, it was hard congealed before. I had twice an opportunity of seeing the operation of this pretended miracle, and must confess I think it so far from being a real miracle, that I look upon it as one of the most bungling tricks that I ever saw: Yet it is this that makes as great a noise as any in the *Roman* Church, and that Monsieur *Paschal* has hinted at among the rest, in his marks of the true religion. The modern *Neapolitans* seem to have copyed it out from one, which was shown in a town of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as long ago as in *Horace*'s time.

———Dehinc Gnatia lymphis
Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque,
Dum flammâ sine thura liquescere limine Sacro
Persuadere cupit: credat Judæus apella,
Non ego——— Sat. 5. L. 1.

At *Gnatia* next arriv'd, we laugh'd to see
The superstitious croud's simplicity,
That in the sacred temple needs would try
Without a fire th' unheated gums to fry;
Believe who will the solemn sham, not I.

One may see at least that the heathen Priesthood had the same kind of secret among them,[1] of which the *Roman* Catholicks are now masters.

I must confess, though I had lived above a year in a *Roman* Catholick country, I was surprized to see many ceremonies and superstitions in *Naples*, that are not so much as thought of in *France*. But as it is certain there has been a kind of secret reformation made, though not publickly owned, in the *Roman* Catholick church, since the spreading of the Protestant religion, so we find the several nations are recovered out of their ignorance, in proportion as they converse more or less with those of the reformed churches. For this reason the *French* are much more enlightened than the *Spaniards* or *Italians*, on occasion of their frequent controversies with the *Huguenots*; and we find many of the *Roman* Catholick Gentlemen of our own country, who [2] will not stick to laugh at the superstitions they sometimes meet with in other nations.

I shall not be particular in describing the grandeur of the city of *Naples*, the beauty of its pavement, the regularity of its buildings, the magnificence of its churches and convents, the multitude of its inhabitants, or the delightfulness of its situation, which so many others have done with a great deal of leisure and exactness. If a war should break out, the town has reason to apprehend the exacting of a large contribution, or a bombardment. It has but seven gallies, a mole, and two little castles, which [3] are capable of hindering an enemy's approaches. Besides, that the sea, which lyes near it, is not subject to storms, has no sensible flux and reflux, and is so deep, that a vessel of burden may come up to the very mole. The houses are flat roof'd to walk upon, so that every bomb that fell on them [1] would take effect.

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] who] that, 1705. [3] which] that, 1705.

Pictures, statues, and pieces of antiquity are not so common at *Naples*, as one might expect in so great and ancient a city of *Italy*; for the Vice-Roys take care to send into *Spain* every thing that is valuable of this nature. Two of their finest modern statues are those of *Apollo* and *Minerva*, placed on each side of *Sannazarius*'s tomb. On the face of this monument, which is all of marble, and very neatly wrought, is represented, in *Bas relief*, *Neptune* among the Satyrs, to show that this Poet was the inventer of piscatory eclogues. I remember *Hugo Grotius* describes himself in one of his Poems, as the first that brought the Muses to the sea-side, but he must be understood only of the Poets of his own country. I here saw the temple that *Sannazarius* mentions in his invocation of the Blessed Virgin, at the beginning of his *De partu Virginis*, which was all raised at his own expence.

——Niveis tibi si solennia templis
Serta damus; si mansuras tibi ponimus aras
Exciso in scopulo, fluctus unde aurea canos
Despiciens celso de culmine Mergilline
Attollit, nautisque procul venientibus offert.
Tu vatem ignarumque viæ insuetumque labori
Diva mone—————— L. 1.

Thou bright celestial Goddess, if to thee
An acceptable temple I erect,
With fairest flowers and freshest garlands deck'd,
On tow'ring rocks, whence *Margillinè* spies
The ruffled deep in storms and tempests rise;
Guide thou the pious Poet, nor refuse
Thine own propitious aid to his unpractis'd Muse.

There are several very delightful prospects about *Naples*, especially from some of the religious houses; for one seldom finds in *Italy* a spot of ground more agreeable than ordinary, that is not covered with a convent. The Cupola's of this city, though there are many of them,[1] do not [2] appear to the best advantage when one surveys them [1] at a distance, as being generally too high and narrow. The

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.

Marquis of *Medina Cidonia*, in his Vice-Royalty, made the shell of a house, which he had not time to finish, that commands a view of the whole bay, and would have been a very noble building had he brought it to perfection.

It stands so on the side of a mountain that it would have had a garden to every story, by the help of a bridge which [1] was to have been laid [2] over each garden.

The bay of *Naples* is the most delightful one that I ever saw. It lyes in almost a round figure of about thirty miles in the diameter. Three parts of it are sheltered [3] with a noble circuit of woods and mountains. The high promontory of *Surrentum* divides it from the bay of *Salernum*. Between the utmost point of this promontory, and the Isle of *Caprea*, the sea enters by a streight of about three miles wide. This Island stands as a vast Mole, which seems to have been planted [4] there on purpose to break the violence of the waves that run into the bay. It lyes longways, almost in a parallel line to *Naples*. The excessive height of its rocks secures [5] a great part of the bay from winds and waves, which [1] enter again between the other end of this Island and the Promontory of *Miseno*. The bay of *Naples* is called the *Crater* by the old Geographers, probably from this its [6] resemblance to a round bowl half filled with liquor. Perhaps *Virgil*, who composed here a great part of his *Æneids*, took from hence the plan of that beautiful harbour, which he has made in his first book; for the *Libyan* port is but the *Neapolitan* bay in little.

Est in secessu longo locus. Insula portum
Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos:
Hinc atque hinc vastæ rupes geminique minantur
In cælum scopuli, quorum sub vertice latè
Æquora tuta silent, tum Silvis scena coruscis
Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ. 1. Æn.

Within a long recess there lyes a Bay,
An island shades it from the rouling sea,

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] laid] lain, 1705.
[3] sheltered] cover'd, 1705.
[4] which . . . planted] planted, 1705.
[5] secures] shelters, 1705.
[6] this its] its, 1705.

> And forms a port secure for ships to ride.
> Broke by the jutting land on either side,
> In double streams the briny waters glide,
> Between two rows of rocks: a *Sylvan* scene
> Appears above, and groves for ever green. *Dryden.*

Naples stands in the bosom of this bay, and has the pleasantest situation in the world, though by reason of its western mountains, it wants an advantage *Vitruvius*[1] would have to the front of his Palace, of seeing the setting Sun.

One would wonder how the *Spaniards*, who have but very few forces in the kingdom of *Naples*, should be able to keep a people from revolting, that has been famous for its mutinies and seditions in former ages. But they have so well contrived it, that though the subjects are miserably harassed and oppressed, the greatest of their oppressors are those of their own body. I shall not mention any thing of the Clergy, who are sufficiently reproached[2] in most Itineraries for the universal poverty that one meets with in this noble and plentiful kingdom. A great part of the people is in a state of vassalage to the Barons, who are the harshest[3] tyrants in the world to those that are under them.[4] The vassals indeed are allowed, and invited to bring in their complaints and appeals to the Vice-Roy, who to foment divisions, and gain the hearts of the populace, does not stick at imprisoning and chastising their masters very severely on occasion. The subjects of the Crown are notwithstanding much more rich and happy than the vassals of the Barons. Insomuch that when the King has been upon the point of selling a town to one of his Barons, the inhabitants have raised the sum upon themselves, and presented it to the King, that they might keep out of so insupportable a slavery. Another way the *Spaniards* have taken to grind the *Neapolitans*, and yet to take off the *Odium* from themselves, has been by erecting several Courts of Justice, with a very small pension for such as sit at the head of

[1] *Vitruvius*] that *Vitruvius*, 1705.
[2] reproached] expos'd, 1705.
[3] harshest] greatest, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.

them,[1] so that they are tempted to take bribes, keep causes undecided, encourage law-suits, and do all they can to fleece the people, that they may have wherewithal to support their own dignity. It is incredible how great a multitude of retainers to the Law there are at *Naples*. It is commonly said, that when *Innocent* the eleventh had desired the Marquis of *Carpio* to furnish him with thirty thousand head of Swine, the Marquis answered him, that for his Swine he could not spare them,[1] but if his Holiness had occasion for thirty thousand Lawyers he had them[1] at his service. These Gentlemen find a continual employ for the fiery temper of the *Neapolitans*, and hinder them[1] from uniting in such common friendships and alliances as might endanger the safety of the government. There are very few persons of consideration who have not a cause depending; for when a *Neapolitan* Cavalier has nothing else to do, he gravely shuts himself up in his closet, and falls a tumbling over his papers to see if he can start a law-suit, and plague any of his neighbours. So much is the Genius of this people changed since *Statius*'s time.

Nulla foro rabies, aut strictæ jurgia legis
Morum jura viris solum et sine fascibus æquum. Sil. L. 3.

By love of right and native justice led,
In the straight paths of equity they tread;
Nor know the bar, nor fear the Judge's frown,
Unpractis'd in the wranglings of the gown.

There is another circumstance which[2] makes the *Neapolitans*, in a very particular manner, the oppressors of each other. The Gab[el]s of *Naples* are very high on oil, wine, tobacco, and indeed on almost every thing that can be eaten, drank or worn. There would have been one on fruit, had not *Massianello*'s rebellion abolished it, as it has probably put a stop to many others. What makes these imposts more intolerable to the poorer sort, they are laid on all butchers meat, while at the same time the fowl and gibier are tax-free. Besides, all meat being taxed equally by the pound, it happens that the duty

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705.

lyes heaviest on the coarser sorts, which are most likely to fall to the share of the common people, so that beef perhaps pays a third, and veal a tenth of its price to the government, a pound of either sort having the same tax fixed on it. These gabels are most of them [1] at present in the hands of private men; for as the King of *Spain* has had occasion for mony he has borrowed it of the rich *Neapolitans*, on condition that they should receive the interest out of such or such gabels 'till he could repay them [1] the principal.

This he has repeated so often that at present there is scarce a single gabel unmortgaged; so that there is no place in *Europe* which [2] pays greater taxes, and at the same time no Prince who [3] draws less advantage from them.[1] In other countries the people have the satisfaction of seeing the mony they give spent in the necessities, defence, or ornament of their State, or at least in the vanity or pleasures of their Prince: but here most of it goes to the enriching of their fellow-subjects. If there was not so great a plenty of every thing in *Naples* the people could not bear it. The *Spaniard* however reaps this advantage from the present posture of affairs, that the murmurs of the people are turned upon their own countrymen, and what is more considerable, that almost all the persons, of the greatest wealth and power in *Naples* are engaged by their own interests to pay these impositions chearfully, and to support the government which [2] has laid them [1] on. For this reason, though the poorer sort are for the Emperor, few of the persons of consequence can endure to think of a change in their present establishment; though there is no question but the King of *Spain* will reform most of these abuses, by breaking or retrenching the power of the Barons, by cancelling several unnecessary employs, or by ransoming or taking the gabels into his own hands. I have been told too, there is a law of *Charles* the fifth something like our statute of Mortmain, which [2] has laid [4] dormant ever since his time, and will probably have new life put into it under the reign of

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] who] that, 1705.
[4] laid] lain, 1705.

an active Prince. The inhabitants of *Naples* have been always very notorious for leading a life of laziness and pleasure, which I take to arise partly out of the wonderful plenty of their country, that does not make labour so necessary to them,[1] and partly out of the temper of their climate, that relaxes the fibres of their bodies, and disposes the people to such an idle indolent humour. Whatever it proceeds from, we find they were formerly as famous for it as they are at present.

This was perhaps the reason that the ancients tell us one of the *Sirens* was buryed in this city, which thence received the name of *Parthenope*.

———*Improba Siren*
Desidia——— Hor. Sa. 3. L. 2.

Sloth, the deluding *Siren* of the mind.

———*Et in otia natam*
Parthenopen——— Ov. Met. L. 15.

———*Otiosa Neapolis*. H. Ep. 5.

Parthenope, for idle hours design'd,
To luxury and ease unbends the mind.

Parthenope non dives opum, non spreta vigoris,
Nam molles urbi ritus atque hospita Musis
Otia, et exemtum curis gravioribus ævum:
Sirenum dedit una suum et memorabile nomen
Parthenope muris Acheloïas, æquore cujus
Regnavere diu cantus, cum dulce per undas
Exitium miseris caneret non prospera nautis. Sil. It. L. 12.

Here wanton *Naples* crowns the happy shore,
Nor vainly rich, nor despicably poor,
The town in soft solemnities delights,
And gentle Poets to her arms invites;
The people, free from cares, serene and gay,
Pass all their mild untroubled hours away.
Parthenope the rising city nam'd,
A *Siren*, for her songs and beauty fam'd,

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

That oft had drown'd among the neighb'ring seas
The list'ning wretch, and made destruction please.

Has ego te sedes (nam nec mihi barbara Thrace
Nec Libye natale solum) transferre laboro:
Quas [et] mollis hyems et frigida temperat æstas,
Quas imbelle fretum, torpentibus alluit undis:
Pax secura locis, et desidis otia vitæ,
Et nunquam turbata quies, somnique peracti:
Nulla foro rabies, &c. Stat. Sil. L. 3.

These are the gentle seats that I propose;
For not cold *Scythia*'s undissolving snows,
Nor the parch'd *Libyan* sands thy husband bore,
But mild *Parthenope*'s delightful shore,
Where hush'd in calms the bord'ring ocean laves
Her silent coast, and rolls in languid waves;
Refreshing winds the summer's heats asswage,
And kindly warmth disarms the winter's rage;
Remov'd from noise and the tumultuous war,
Soft sleep and downy ease inhabit there,
And dreams unbroken with intruding care.

The Antiquities and Natural Curiosities that lye near the City of Naples.

AT about eight miles distance from *Naples* lyes a very noble scene of antiquities. What they call *Virgil*'s tomb is the first that one meets with on the way thither. It is certain this Poet was buried at *Naples*, but I think it is almost as certain that his tomb stood [1] on the other side of the town which [2] looks towards *Vesuvio*. By this tomb is the entry into the grotto of

[1] stood] lay, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705.

Pausilypo. The[1] common people of *Naples* believe it to[2] have been wrought by magick, and that *Virgil* was the magician; who is in greater repute among the *Neapolitans* for having made the Grotto, than the *Æneid.*

If a man would form to himself a just idea of this place, he must fancy a vast rock undermined from one end to the other, and a highway running through it, near as long and as broad as the Mall in St. *James*'s park. This subterraneous passage is much mended since *Seneca* gave so bad a character of it. The entry at both ends is higher than the middle parts of it, and sinks by degrees, to fling in more light upon the rest. Towards the middle are two large funnels, bored through the roof of the grotto,[3] to let in light and fresh air.

There are no where about the mountain any vast heaps of stones, though it is certain the great quantities of them[4] that are dug out of the rock could not easily conceal themselves, had they not probably been consumed in the moles and buildings of *Naples.* This confirmed me in a conjecture which I made at the first sight of this subterraneous passage, that it was not at first designed so much for a highway as for a quarry of stone, but that the inhabitants, finding a double advantage by it, hewed it into the form we now see. Perhaps the same design gave the original to the *Sibyl*'s grotto, considering the prodigious multitude of palaces that stood in its neighbourhood.

I remember when I was at *Chateaudun* in *France* I met with a very curious person, a member of one of the *German* Universities. He had stayed a day or two in the town longer than ordinary, to take the measures of several empty spaces that had been cut in the sides of a neighbouring mountain. Some of them[4] were supported with pillars formed out of the rock, some were made in the fashion of galleries, and some not unlike amphitheaters. The Gentleman had made to himself several ingenious hypotheses concerning the use of these subterraneous apartments, and from thence collected the vast magnificence and luxury of the ancient *Chateaudunois.* But upon com-

[1] *Pausilypo.* The] *Pausilypo,* which the, 1705.
[2] it to] to, 1705.
[3] grotto] Mountain, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

municating his thoughts on this subject to one of the most learned of the place, he was not a little surprized to hear that these stupendous [1] works of art were only so many quarries of free-stone, that had been wrought into different figures, according as the veins of it directed the workmen.

About five miles from the grotto of *Pausilypo* lye the remains of *Puteoli* and *Bajæ*, in a soft air and a delicious situation.

The country about them,[2] by reason of its vast caverns and subterraneous fires, has been miserably torn in pieces by earthquakes, so that the whole face of it is quite changed from what it was formerly. The sea has overwhelmed a multitude of palaces, which [3] may be seen at the bottom of the water in a calm day.

The *Lucrine* lake is but a puddle in comparison of what it once was, its springs having been sunk in an earthquake, or stopped up by mountains that have fallen upon them.[2] The lake of *Avernus*, formerly [4] so famous for its streams [5] of poison, is now plentifully stocked with fish and fowl. Mount *Gaurus*, from one of the fruitfullest parts in *Italy*, is become one of the most barren. Several fields, which [3] were laid out in beautiful groves and gardens, are now naked plains, smoaking with sulphur, or encumbered with hills that have been thrown up by eruptions of fire. The works of art lye in no less disorder than those of nature, for that which was once the most beautiful [6] spot of *Italy*, covered with temples and palaces, adorned by the greatest of the *Roman* Common-wealth, embellished by many of the *Roman* Emperors, and celebrated by the best of their Poets, has now nothing to show but the ruines of its ancient splendor, and a great magnificence in confusion.

The mole of *Puteoli* has been mistaken by several Authors for *Caligula*'s bridge. They have all been led into this error from the make of it, because it stands on arches. But to pass over the many arguments that may be brought against this opinion, I shall here take away the foundation

[1] stupendous] stupendious, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] formerly] that was formerly, 1705.
[5] streams] steams, 1705, 1718.
[6] beautiful] Charming, 1705.

of it, by setting down an inscription mentioned by *Julius Capitolinus* in the life of *Antoninus Pius*, who was the repairer of this mole. *Imp. Cæsari. Divi. Hadriani. filio. Divi. Trajani. Parthici. Nepoti. Divi. Nervæ. pronepoti. T. Act. Hadriano. Antonino. Aug. Pio.* &c. *quod super cætera beneficia ad hujus etiam tutelam portûs*, Pilarum *viginti* molem *cum sumptu* fornicum *reliquo ex Ærario suo largitus est.*

It would have been very difficult to have made such a mole as this of *Puteoli*, in a place where they had not so natural a commodity as the earth of *Puzzuola*, which immediately hardens in the water, and after a little lying in it looks rather like stone than mortar. It was this that gave the ancient *Romans* an opportunity of making so many encroachments on the sea, and of laying the foundations of their villas and palaces within the very borders of it, as * *Horace* has elegantly described it more than once.

About four years ago they dug up a great piece of marble near *Puzzuola*, with [1] several figures and letters engraven round it, which have given occasion to some disputes among the antiquaries. † But they all agree that it is the pedestal of a statue erected to *Tiberius* by the fourteen cities of *Asia*, which were flung down by an earthquake; the same that, according to the opinion of many learned men, happened at our Saviour's Crucifixion. They have found in the letters, which are still legible, the names of the several cities, and discover in each figure something particular to the city, of which it represents the genius. There are two Medals of *Tiberius* stamped on the same occasion, [Plate II.] with this inscription to one of them,[2] *Civitatibus Asiæ Restitutis*. The Emperor is represented in both sitting, with a *Patera* in one hand, and a spear in the other.

It is probable this might have been the posture of the statue, which in all likelihood does not lye far from the place where they took up the pedestal; for they say there were other great pieces of marble near it, and several of

* L. 2. O. 18. L. 3. O. 1. L. 3. O. 24. Epist. L. 1.
† Vid. Gronovium, Fabretti, Bulifon, *&c.*

[1] with] that has, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

them [1] inscribed, but that no body would be at the charges of bringing them to light. The pedestal it self lay neglected in an open field when I saw it. I shall not be particular on the ruines of the Amphitheater, the ancient reservoirs of water, the *Sibyl*'s grotto, the *Centum Cameræ*, the sepulchre of *Agrippina Nero*'s mother, with several other antiquities of less note, that lye in the neighbourhood of this bay, and have been often [2] described by many others. I must confess, after having surveyed the antiquities about *Naples* and *Rome*, I cannot [3] but think that our admiration of them [1] does not so much arise out of their greatness as uncommonness.

There are indeed many extraordinary ruines, but I believe a traveller would not be so much astonished at them,[1] did he find any works of the same kind in his own country. Amphitheatres, triumphal arches, baths, grotto's, catacombs, rotunda's, highways paved for so great a length, bridges of such an amazing height, subterraneous buildings for the reception of rain and snow-water, are most of them [1] at present out of fashion, and only to be met with among the antiquities of *Italy*. We are therefore immediately surprized when we see any considerable sums laid out in any thing of this nature, though at the same time there is many a *Gothic* cathedral in *England*, that has cost more pains and mony than several of these celebrated works. Among the ruines of the old heathen temples they showed me what they call the chamber of *Venus*, which [4] stands a little behind her temple. It is wholly dark, and has several figures on the cieling wrought in *Stucco*, that seem to represent lust and strength by the emblems of naked *Jupiters* and *Gladiators*, *Tritons* and *Centaurs*, &c. so that one would guess it has formerly been the scene of many lewd mysteries. On the other side of *Naples* are [5] the Catacombs. These must have been full of stench and loathsomness, if the dead bodies that lay in them [1] were left to rot in open Niches, [6] as an eminent Author of our own country imagines.[6] But upon examining them [1] I find they were each of them [1] stopped

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[2] often] so often, 1705.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.
[5] are] lye, 1705.
[6] as . . . imagines] *Not in* 1705.

PLATE II

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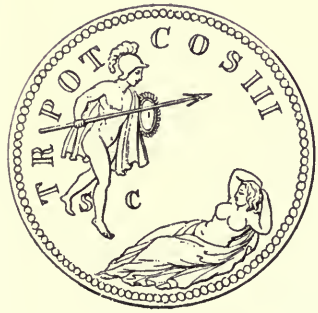

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[*To face p.* 109.

up: without[1] doubt, as soon as the corps was laid in it. For at the mouth of the Niche one always finds the rock cut into little channels, to fasten the board or marble that was to close it up, and I think I did not see one which[2] had not still some mortar sticking in it. In some I found pieces of tiles that exactly tallyed with the channel, and in others a little wall of bricks, that sometimes stopped up above a quarter of the Niche, the rest having been broken down. St. *Proculus*'s sepulchre seems to have[3] a kind of Mosaic work on its covering, for I observed at one end of it several little pieces of marble ranged together after that manner. 'Tis probable they were adorned, more or less, according to the quality of the dead. One would indeed wonder to find such a multitude of Niches unstopped, and I cannot[4] imagine any body should take the pains to do it, who[5] was not in quest of some supposed treasure.

Bajæ was the winter retreat of the old *Romans*, that being the proper season to enjoy the *Bajani Soles*, and the *Mollis Lucrinus*; as on the contrary, *Tibur, Tusculum, Preneste,*[6] *Alba, Cajeta, Mons Circeius, Anxur,* and the like airy mountains and promontories, were their retirements during the heats of summer.

Dum nos blanda tenent jucundi stagna Lucrini,
Et quæ pumiceis fontibus antra calent,
Tu colis Argivi regnum Faustine coloni *
Quo te bis decimus ducit ab urbe lapis.
Horrida sed fervent Nemeæi pectora monstri:
Nec satis est Bajas igne calere suo.
Ergo sacri fontes, et littora sacra valete,
Nympharum pariter, Nereidumque domus
Herculeos colles gelidâ vos vincite brumâ,
Nunc Tiburtinis cedite frigoribus. Mar. L. 1. Ep. 116.

While near the *Lucrine* lake consum'd to death
I draw the sultry air, and gasp for breath,

* Vide Hor. L. 2. Od. 6.

[1] up: without] up, without, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] have] have had, 1705.
[4] cannot] can't, 1705, 1718.
[5] who] that, 1705.
[6] *Preneste*] *Prænæste*, 1705, 1718.

Where steams of Sulphur raise a stifling heat,
And through the pores of the warm pumice sweat;
You taste the cooling breeze, where nearer home
The twentieth pillar marks the mile from *Rome*:
And now the Sun to the bright Lion turns,
And *Baja* with redoubled fury burns;
Then briny seas and tasteful springs farewel,
Where fountain-nymphs confus'd with *Nereids* dwell,
In winter you may all the world despise,
But now 'tis *Tivoli* that bears the prize.

The natural curiosities about *Naples* are as numerous and extraordinary as the artificial. I shall set them [1] down, as I have done the other, without any regard to their situation. The grotto *del Cani* is famous for the poisonous steams which [2] float within a foot of its surface. The sides of the grotto are marked green,[3] as high as the malignity of the vapour reaches. The common experiments are as follows: A Dog, that has his nose held in the vapour, loses all signs of life [4] in a very little time; but if carryed into the open air, or thrown into a neighbouring lake, he immediately recovers, if he is not quite gone. A Torch, snuff and all, goes out in a moment when dipped into the vapour. A Pistol cannot [5] take fire in it. I split a reed, and laid in the channel of it a train of gunpowder, so that one end of the reed was above the vapour, and the other at the bottom of it; and I found, though the steam was strong enough to hinder a pistol from taking fire in it, and to quench a lighted torch, that it could not intercept the train of fire when it had once begun flashing, nor hinder it from running to the very end. This experiment I repeated twice or thrice, to see if I could quite dissipate the vapour, which I did in so great a measure, that one might easily let off a pistol in it. I observed how long a Dog was in expiring [6] the first time, and after his recovery, and found no sensible difference. A Viper bore it nine minutes the first time we put it in, and ten the second. When we brought it out after the first trial, it

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] green] with Green, 1705, 1718.
[4] loses . . . life] dies, 1705.
[5] cannot] can't, 1705.
[6] in expiring] a dying, 1705.

took such a vast quantity of air into its lungs, that it swelled almost twice as big as before; and it was perhaps on this stock of air that it lived a minute longer the second time. Dr. *Connor* made a discourse in one of the Academies at *Rome* upon the subject of this Grotto, which he has since printed in *England*. He attributes the death of Animals, and the extinction of Lights, to a great rarefaction of the air, caused by the heat and eruption of the steams. But how is it possible for these steams, though in never so great quantity, to resist the pressure of the whole Atmosphere? And as for the heat, it is but very inconsiderable. However, to satisfie my self, I placed a thin viol, well stopped up with wax, within the smoke of the vapour, which would certainly have burst in an air rarefyed enough to kill a dog, or quench a torch, but nothing followed upon it. However, to take away all further doubt, I borrowed a Weather-glass, and so fixed it in the Grotto, that the *Stagnum* was wholly covered with the vapour, but I could not perceive the Quicksilver sunk after half an hour's standing in it. This vapour is generally supposed to be sulphureous, though I can see no reason for such a supposition. He that dips his hand in it finds no smell that it leaves upon it; and though I put a whole bundle of lighted brimstone matches to the smoke, they all went out in an instant, as if immersed in water. Whatever is the composition of the vapour, let it have but one quality of being very glewy or viscous, and I believe it will mechanically solve all the *Phænomena* of the Grotto. It's unctuousness will make it heavy, and unfit for mounting higher than it does, unless the heat of the earth, which is just strong enough to agitate, and bear it up at a little distance from the surface, were much greater than it is to rarefie and scatter it. It will be too gross and thick to keep the lungs in play for any time, so that Animals will die in it sooner or later, as their blood circulates slower or faster. Fire will live in it no longer than in Water, because it wraps it self in the same manner about the flame, and by its continuity hinders any quantity of air or nitre from coming to its succour. The parts of it however are not so compact as those of liquors, nor therefore tenacious enough to intercept the fire that has once caught a train of Gun-

powder, for which reason they may be quite broken and dispersed by the repetition of this experiment. There is an unctuous clammy vapour that arises from the stum of Grapes, when they lye mashed together in the vat, which [1] puts out a light when dipped into it, and perhaps would take away the breath of weaker animals, were it put to the trial.

It would be endless to reckon up the different Baths, to [2] be met with in a country that so much abounds in sulphur. There is scarce a disease which has not one adapted to it. A stranger is generally led into that they call *Cicero*'s bath, and several voyage-writers pretend there is a cold vapour rising from the bottom of it, which refreshes those who [3] stoop into it. 'Tis true the heat is much more supportable to one that stoops, than to one that stands upright, because the steams of sulphur gather in the hollow of the Arch about a man's head, and are therefore much thicker and warmer in that part than at the bottom. The three lakes of *Agnano, Avernus,* and the *Lucrin,* have now nothing in them [4] particular. The *Monte Novo* was thrown out by an eruption of fire, that happened in the place where now the mountain stands. The *Sulfatara* is very surprising to one who has not seen Mount *Vesuvio.* But there is nothing about *Naples,* nor indeed in any part of *Italy,* which deserves our admiration so much as this mountain. I must confess the idea I [5] had of it, did not answer the real image of the place when I came to see it ; I shall therefore give the description of it as it then lay.

This mountain stands at about six *English* miles distance from *Naples,* though by reason of its height, it seems much nearer to those that survey it from the town. In our way to it we passed by what was one of those rivers of burning matter, that ran from it in a late eruption. This looks at a distance like a new plowed land, but, as you come near it you see nothing but a long heap of heavy disjointed clods lying one upon another. There are innumerable Cavities and Interstices among the several pieces, so that

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] to] that are to, 1705.
[3] who] that, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.
[5] I] that I, 1705.

the surface is all broken and irregular. Sometimes a great fragment stands like a rock above the rest, sometimes the whole heap lyes in a kind of channel, and in other places has nothing like banks to confine it, but rises four or five foot high in the open air, without spreading abroad on either side. This, I think, is a plain demonstration that these rivers were not, as they are usually represented, so many streams of running [1] matter; for how could a liquid, that lay hardening by degrees, settle in such a furrowed uncompact surface? Were the river [2] a confusion of never so many different bodies, if they had been all actually dissolved, they would at least have formed one continued crust, as we see the *Scorium* of metals always gathers into a solid piece, let it be compounded of a thousand Heterogeneous parts. I am apt to think therefore, that these huge unwieldy lumps that now lye [3] one upon another, as if thrown together by accident, remained in the melted matter rigid and unliquified, floating in it like cakes of ice in a river, and that, as the fire and ferment gradually abated, they adjusted themselves together as well as their irregular figures would permit,[4] and by this means fell into such an interrupted disorderly heap, as we now find it. What was the melted matter lyes at the bottom out of sight. After having quitted the side of this long heap, which was once a stream of fire,[5] we came to the roots of the mountain, and had a very troublesome march to gain the top of it. It is covered on all sides with a kind of burnt earth, very dry, and crumbled into powder, as if it had been artificially sifted. It is very hot under the feet, and mixed with several burnt stones and cakes of cinders, which [6] have been thrown out at different times. A man sinks almost a foot in the earth, and generally loses half a step by sliding backwards. When we had climbed this mountain we discovered the top of it to be a wide naked plain, smoaking with sulphur in several places, and probably undermined with fire, for we concluded it to be hollow by the sound it

[1] running] purulent running, 1705.
[2] river] Lake, 1705.
[3] now lye] lye, 1705.
[4] permit] let 'em, 1705.
[5] long . . . fire] River for some time, 1705.
[6] which] that, 1705.

made under our feet. In the midst of this plain stands a high hill in the shape of a Sugar-loaf, so very steep that there would be no mounting or descending it, were not it made up of such a loose crumbled earth as I have before described. The air of this place must be very much [1] impregnated with Salt-petre, as appears by the specks of it on the sides of the mountain, where one can scarce find a stone that has not the top white with it. After we had, with much ado, conquered this hill, we saw in the midst of it the present mouth of *Vesuvio*, that goes shelving down on all sides 'till above a hundred yards deep, as near as we could guess, and has about three or four hundred in the diameter, for it seems a perfect Round. This vast Hollow is generally filled with smoak, but, by the advantage of a wind that blew for us, we had a very clear and distinct sight of it. The sides appear all over stained with mixtures of white, green, red and yellow, and have several rocks standing out of them that look like pure brimstone. The bottom was entirely covered, and though we looked very narrowly we could see nothing like a hole in it; the smoak breaking through several imperceptible cracks in many places. The very middle was firm ground when we saw it, as we concluded from the stones we flung upon it, and I question not but one might then have crossed the bottom, and have gone [2] up on the other side of it with very little danger, unless from some accidental breath of wind. In the late eruptions this great hollow was like a vast caldron filled with glowing and melted matter, which, as it boiled over in any part, ran down the sides of the mountain, and made five such rivers as that before-mentioned. In proportion as the heat slackened, this burning matter must have subsided within the bowels of the mountain, and as it sunk very leisurely had time to cake together, and form the Bottom which [3] covers the mouth of that dreadful vault that lyes underneath it. The next eruption or earthquake will probably break in pieces this false bottom, and quite change the present face of things.

This whole mountain, shaped like [a] sugar-loaf,[4] has been

[1] very much] strangely, 1705.
[2] gone] went, 1705. [3] which] that, 1705.
[4] mountain, . . . sugar-loaf] Sugar-loaf Mountain, 1705.

made at several times, by the prodigious quantities of earth and cinders, which have been flung up out of the mouth that lyes in the midst of them,[1] so that it encreases in bulk at every eruption, the ashes still falling down the sides of it, like the sand in an hour-glass. A Gentleman of *Naples* told me, that in his memory it had gained twenty foot in thickness, and I question not but in length of time it will cover the whole plain, and make one mountain with that on which it now stands.

In those parts of the sea, that are not far from the roots of this mountain, they find sometimes a very fragrant oil, which is sold dear, and makes a rich perfume. The surface of the sea is, for a little space, covered with its bubbles during the time that it rises, which they skim off into their boats, and afterwards set a separating in pots and jars. They say its sources never run but in a calm warm weather. The agitations of the water perhaps hinder them [1] from discovering it at other times.

Among the natural curiosities of *Naples*, I cannot [2] forbear mentioning their manner of furnishing the town with Snow, which they here use instead of Ice, because, as they say, it cools or congeles any liquor sooner. There is a great quantity of it consumed yearly, for they drink very few liquors, not so much as water, that have not lain in *Fresco*, and every body, from the highest to the lowest, makes use of it; insomuch that a scarcity of Snow would raise a mutiny at *Naples*, as much as a dearth of Corn or Provisions in another country. To prevent this the King has sold the monopoly of it [to] certain persons, who are obliged to furnish the city with it all the year at so much the pound. They have a high mountain at about eighteen miles from the town, which has several pits dug into it. Here they employ many poor people at such a season of the year to roll in vast balls of snow, which they ram together, and cover from the sun-shine. Out of these reservoirs of snow they cut several lumps, as they have occasion for them,[1] and send them [1] on Asses to the sea-side, where they are carryed off in boats, and distributed to several shops at a settled price, that from time to time

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] cannot] can't, 1705.

supply the whole city of *Naples*. While the *Banditti* continued their disorders in this Kingdom, they often put the Snow-merchants under contribution, and threatened them,[1] if they appeared tardy in their payments, to destroy their magazines, which they say might easily have been effected by the infusion of some barrels of Oil.

It would have been tedious to have put down the many descriptions that the *Latin* Poets have made of several of the places mentioned in this chapter: I shall therefore conclude it with the general map which *Silius Italicus* has given us of this great bay of *Naples*. Most of the places he mentions lye within the same prospect, and if I have passed over any of them,[1] it is because I shall take them [1] in my way by sea, from *Naples* to *Rome*.

Stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat Avernum:
Tum tristi nemore atque umbris nigrantibus horrens,
Et formidatus volucri, lethale vomebat
Suffuso virus cælo, Stygiâque per urbes
Relligione sacer, sævum retinebat honorem.
Hinc vicina palus, fama est Acherontis ad undas
Pandere iter, cæcas stagnante voragine fauces
Laxat et horrendos aperit telluris hiatus,
Interdumque novo perturbat lumine manes.
Juxta caligante situ longumque per ævum
Infernis pressas nebulis, pallente sub umbrâ
Cymmerias jacuisse domos, noctemque profundam
Tartareæ narrant urbis: tum sulphure et igni
Semper anhelantes, coctoque bitumine campos
Ostentant: tellus atro exundante vapore
Suspirans, ustisque diu calefacta medullis
Æstuat et Stygios exhalat in aëra flatus:
Parturit, et tremulis metuendum exibilat antris,
Interdumque cavas luctatus rumpere sedes,
Aut exire foras, sonitu lugubre minaci
Mulciber immugit, laceratâque viscera terræ
Mandit, et exesos labefactat murmure montes.
Tradunt Herculeâ prostratos mole Gigantes
Tellurem injectam quatere, et spiramine anhelo

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

Torreri late campos, quotiesque minatur
Rumpere compagem impositam, expallescere cælum.
Apparet procul Inarime, quæ turbine nigro
Fumantem premit Iapetum, flammasque rebelli
Ore ejectantem, et siquando evadere detur
Bella Jovi rursus superisque iterare volentem.
Monstrantur Veseva juga, atque in vertice summo
Depasti flammis scopuli, fractusque ruinâ
Mons circùm, atque Ætnæ fatis certantia saxa.
Nec non Misenum servantem Idæa sepulcro
Nomina, et Herculeos videt ipso littore Baulos. L. 12.

Averno next he show'd his wond'ring guest,
Averno now with milder virtues bless'd;
Black with surrounding forests then it stood,
That hung above, and darken'd all the flood:
Clouds of unwholesome vapours, rais'd on high,
The flutt'ring bird entangled in the sky,
Whilst all around the gloomy prospect spread
An awful horror, and religious dread.
Hence to the borders of the marsh they go,
That mingles with the baleful streams below,
And sometimes with a mighty yawn, 'tis said,
Opens a dismal passage to the Dead,
Who[1] pale with fear the rending earth survey,
And startle at the sudden flash of day.
The dark *Cimmerian* grotto then he paints,
Describing all its old Inhabitants,
That in the deep infernal city dwell'd,
And lay in everlasting night conceal'd.
Advancing still, the spacious fields he show'd,
That with the smother'd heat of brimstone glow'd;
Through frequent cracks the steaming sulphur broke
And cover'd all the blasted plain with smoke:
Imprison'd fires, in the close dungeons pent,
Roar to get loose, and struggle for a vent,
Eating their way, and undermining all,
'Till with a mighty burst whole mountains fall.
Here, as 'tis said, the rebel Giants lye,
And, when to move th' incumbent load they try,

[1] Who] That, 1705.

Ascending vapours on the day prevail,
The sun looks sickly, and the skies grow pale.
Next to the distant Isle his sight he turns,
That o'er the thunderstruck *Tiphæus* burns:
Enrag'd, his wide-extended jaws expire,
In angry whirl-winds, blasphemies and fire,
Threat'ning, if loosen'd from his dire abodes,
Again to challenge *Jove*, and fight the Gods.
On mount *Vesuvio* next he fixt his eyes,
And saw the smoaking tops confus'dly rise;
(A hideous ruin!) that with earthquakes rent
A second *Ætna* to the view present.
Miseno's cape and *Bauli* last he view'd,
That on the sea's extreamest borders stood.

Silius Italicus here takes notice, that the poisonous vapours which arose from the lake *Averno* in *Hannibal*'s time, were quite dispersed at the time when [1] he wrote his Poem; because *Agrippa*, who lived between *Hannibal* and *Silius*, had cut down the woods that enclosed the lake, and hindered these noxious steams from dissipating, which were immediately scattered as soon as the winds and fresh air were let in among them.[2]

The ISLE of *CAPREA*.

HAVING staid longer at *Naples* than I at first designed, I could not dispense with my self from making a little voyage to the Isle of *Caprea*, as being very desirous to see a place which [3] had been the retirement of *Augustus* for some time, and the residence of *Tiberius* for several years. The Island lyes four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. The western part, for about two miles in length, is a continued rock

[1] when] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] which] that, 1705.

vastly high, and inaccessible on the sea-side. It has however the greatest town in the Island, that goes under the name of *Ano-Caprea*, and is in several places covered with a very fruitful soil. The eastern end of the Isle rises up in Precipices very near as high, though not quite so long, as the western. Between these eastern and western mountains lyes a slip of lower ground, which [1] runs across the Island, and is one of the pleasantest spots I have seen.[2] It is hid [3] with Vines, Figs, Oranges, Almonds, Olives, Myrtles, and fields of Corn, which look extremely fresh and beautiful, and make up the most delightful little Land-skip imaginable, when they are surveyed from the tops of the neighbouring mountains. Here stands the town of *Caprea*, the Bishop's Palace, and two or three Convents. In the midst of this fruitful tract of land rises a hill, that was probably covered with buildings in *Tiberius*'s time. There are still several ruines on the sides of it, and about the top are found two or three dark galleries, low built, and covered with mason's work, though at present they appear over-grown with grass. I entered one of them [4] that is a hundred paces in length. I observed, as some of the countrymen were digging into the sides of this mountain, that what I took for solid earth, was only heaps of brick, stone, and other rubbish, skinned over with a covering of vegetables. But the most considerable ruine is that which stands on the very extremity of the eastern promontory, where are still some apartments left, very high and arched at top : I have not indeed seen the remains of any ancient *Roman* buildings, that have not been roofed with either vaults or arches. The Rooms I am mentioning stand deep in the earth, and have nothing like windows or chimneys, which makes me think they were formerly either bathing places or reservoirs of water. An old Hermit lives at present among the ruines of this Palace, who lost his companion a few years ago by a fall from the precipice. He told me they had often found Medals and Pipes of lead, as they dug among the rubbish, and that not many years ago they discovered a paved road running under ground,

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] I . . . seen] that I have ever seen, 1705.
[3] hid] cover'd, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

from the top of the mountain to the sea-side, which was afterwards confirmed to me by a Gentleman of the Island. There is a very noble prospect from this place. On the one side lyes a vast extent of seas, that runs abroad further than the eye can reach. Just opposite stands the green promontory of *Surrentum*, and on the other side the whole circuit of the bay of *Naples*. This prospect, according to *Tacitus*, was more agreeable before the burning of *Vesuvio*; that mountain probably, which after the first eruption looked like a great pile of ashes, was in *Tiberius*'s time shaded with woods and vineyards; for I think *Martial*'s Epigram may here serve as a comment to *Tacitus*.

Hic est pampineis viridis Vesuvius umbris,
Presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus.
Hæc juga quàm Nisæ colles plùs Bacchus amavit:
Hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros.
Hæc Veneris sedes, Lacedæmone gratior illi;
Hic locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat.
Cuncta jacent flammis et tristi mersa favillâ:
Nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi. L. 2. Ep. 105.

Vesuvio, cover'd with the fruitful vine,
Here flourish'd once, and ran with floods of wine,
Here *Bacchus* oft to the cool shades retir'd,
And his own native *Nisa* less admir'd;
Oft to the mountain's airy tops advanc'd,
The frisking Satyrs on the summets danc'd;
Alcides here, here *Venus* grac'd the shore,
Nor lov'd her fav'rite *Lacedæmon* more:
Now piles of ashes, spreading all around,
In undistinguish'd heaps deform the ground,
The Gods themselves the ruin'd seats bemoan,
And blame the mischiefs that themselves have done.

This view must still have been more pleasant, when the whole bay was encompassed with so long a range of buildings, that it appeared to those, who looked on it at a distance, but as one continued city. On both the shores of that fruitful bottom, which I have before mentioned, are still to be seen the marks of ancient edifices; particularly on

that which looks towards the south there is a little kind of Mole, which[1] seems to have been the foundation of a Palace; unless we may suppose that the *Pharos* of *Caprea* stood there, which *Statius* takes notice of in his Poem that invites his wife to *Naples*, and is, I think, the most natural among the *Silvæ*.

Nec desunt variæ circùm oblectamina vitæ,
Sive vaporiferas, blandissima littora, Bajas,
Enthea fatidicæ seu visere tecta Sibyllæ,
Dulce sit, Iliacoque jugum memorabile remo:
Seu tibi Bacchei vineta madentia Gauri,
Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis
Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharus æmula lunæ,
Caraque non molli juga Surrentina Lyæo. L. 3.

The blissful seats with endless pleasures flow,
Whether to *Baja*'s sunny shores you go,
And view the sulphur to the baths convey'd,
Or the dark Grotte of the prophetick maid,
Or steep *Miseno* from the *Trojan* nam'd,
Or *Gaurus* for its flowing vintage fam'd,
Or *Caprea*, where the lanthorn fix'd on high
Shines like a moon through the benighted sky,
While by its beams the wary sailor steers:
Or where *Surrentum*, clad in vines, appears.

They found in *Ano-Caprea*, some years ago, a statue and a rich pavement under ground, as they had occasion to turn up the earth that lay upon them.[2] One still sees, on the bendings of these mountains, the marks of several ancient scales of stairs, by which they used to ascend them.[2] The whole Island is so unequal that there were but few diversions to be found in it without doors, but what recommended it most to *Tiberius* was its wholesome air, which is warm in winter and cool in summer, and its inaccessible coasts, which are generally so very steep, that a handful of men might defend them [2] against a powerful army.

We need not doubt but *Tiberius* had his different residences, according as the seasons of the year, and his different

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

sets of pleasure [1] required. *Suetonius* says, *Duodecim Villas totidem nominibus ornavit.* The whole Island was probably cut into several easie ascents, planted with variety of palaces, and adorned with as great a multitude of groves and gardens as the situation of the place would suffer. The works under ground were however more extraordinary than those above it; for the rocks were all undermined with high-ways, grotto's, galleries, bagnio's, and several subterraneous retirements, that suited with the brutal pleasures of the Emperor. One would indeed very much wonder to see such small appearances of the many works of art, that were formerly to be met with in this Island, were we not told that the *Romans*, after the death of *Tiberius*, sent hither an army of Pioneers on purpose to demolish the buildings, and deface the beauties of the Island.

In sailing round *Caprea* we were entertained with many rude prospects of rocks and precipices, that rise in several places half a mile high in perpendicular. At the bottom of them [2] are caves and grotto's, formed by [3] the continual breaking of the waves upon them.[2] I entered one which the inhabitants call *Grotto Oscuro*, and after the light of the sun was a little worn off my Eyes, could see all the parts of it distinctly, by a glimmering reflection that played upon them [2] from the surface of the water. The mouth is low and narrow, but, after having entered pretty far in, the Grotto opens it self on both sides in an oval figure of an hundred yards from one extremity to the other, as we were told, for it would not have been safe measuring of it.[4] The roof is vaulted, and distils fresh water from every part of it, which [5] fell upon us as fast as the first droppings of a shower. The Inhabitants and *Neapolitans* who have heard of *Tiberius*'s Grotto's, will have this to be one of them,[2] but there are several reasons that show it to be natural. For besides the little use we [6] can conceive of such a dark cavern of salt waters, there are no where any marks of the chissel; the sides are of a soft mouldering stone, and one sees many of the like hollow spaces worn in the bottoms of

[1] pleasure] Pleasures, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[3] formed by] that have been form'd by, 1705.
[4] measuring of it] measuring it, 1705.
[5] which] that, 1705.
[6] use we] use that we, 1705.

the rocks, as they are more or less able to resist the impressions of the water that beats against them.[1]

Not far from this Grotto lye the *Sirenum Scopuli*, which[2] *Virgil* and *Ovid* mention in *Æneas*'s voyage; they are two or three sharp rocks that stand about a stone's throw from the south-side of the Island, and are generally beaten by waves and tempests, which are much more violent on the south than on the north of *Caprea*.

Jamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat
Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos,
Tum rauca assiduo longè sale saxa sonabant. Æn.

Glides by the *Syren*'s cliffs, a shelfy coast,
Long infamous for ships and sailors lost,
And white with bones: Th' impetuous ocean roars,
And rocks rebellow from the sounding shores. *Dryden.*

I have before said that they often find Medals in this Island. Many of those they call the *Spintriæ*, which *Aretin* has copyed, have been dug up here. I know none of the Antiquaries that have written on this subject, and find nothing satisfactory of it where I thought it most likely to be met with, in *Patin*'s edition of *Suetonius* illustrated by Medals. Those I have conversed with about it, are of opinion they were made to ridicule the brutality of *Tiberius*, though I cannot[3] but believe they were stamped by his order. They are unquestionably antique, and no bigger than Medals of the third magnitude. They bear on one side some lewd invention of that hellish society which *Suetonius* calls *Monstrosi concubitûs repertores*, and on the other the number of the Medal. I have seen of them[1] as high as to twenty. I cannot[3] think they were made as a jest on the Emperor, because Raillery on coins is of a modern date. I know but two in the Upper Empire, besides the *Spintriæ*, that lye under any suspicion of it. The first is one of *Marcus Aurelius*, where, in compliment to the [Plate I.] Emperor and Empress, they have stamped on the reverse the figure of *Venus* caressing *Mars*, and endeavouring to detain him from the wars.

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [2] which] that, 1705.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705, 1718.

———Quoniam belli fera mænera Mavors
Armipotens regit, in gremium qui sæpe tuum se
Rejicit, æterno devinctus volnere amoris. Lucr. L. 1.

The *Venus* has *Faustina*'s face, her lover is a naked figure with a helmet on his head, and a shield on his arm.

Tu scabie frueris mali quod in aggere rodit,
Qui tegitur, parmâ et galeâ——— Juv. Sat. 5.

This unluckily brings to mind *Faustina*'s fondness for the Gladiator, and is therefore interpreted by many as a hidden piece of Satyr. But besides, that such a thought was inconsistent with the gravity of a Senate, how can one imagine that the Fathers would have dared affront the Wife of *Aurelius*, and the Mother of *Commodus*, or that they could think of giving offence to an Empress whom they afterwards Deified, and to an Emperor that was the darling of the army and people ?

The other Medal is a golden one of *Gallienus* preserved in the *French* King's cabinet ; it is inscribed *Gallienæ Augustæ, Pax Ubique*, and was stamped at a time when the Emperor's Father was in bondage, and the Empire torn in pieces by several pretenders to it. Yet, if one considers the strange stupidity of this Emperor, with the senseless security which appears in several of his sayings that are still left on record, one may very well believe this coin was of his own invention. We may be sure, if raillery had once entered the old *Roman* coins, we should have been overstocked with Medals of this [1] nature ; if we consider there were often rival Emperors proclaimed at the same time, who endeavoured at the lessening of each others character, and that most of them [2] were succeeded by such as were enemies to their predecessor. These Medals of *Tiberius* were never current mony, but rather of the nature of Medalions, which seem to have been made on purpose to perpetuate the discoveries of that infamous society. *Suetonius* tells us, that their monstrous inventions were registered several ways, and preserved in the Emperor's private apartments. *Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissi-*

[1] this] that, 1705, 1718. [2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

marum picturarum et figurarum adornavit, librisque Elephantidis instruxit: ne cui in Operâ edendâ exemplar impetratæ Schemæ deesset.[1] The *Elephantis* here mentioned is probably the same *Martial*[2] takes notice of for her book of postures.

In Sabellum.

Facundos mihi de libidinosis
Legisti nimium Sabelle versus,
Quales nec Didymi sciunt puellæ,
Nec molles Elephantidos libelli.
Sunt illic Veneris novæ figuræ:
Quales, &c. Lib. 12. Ep. 43.

Ovid mentions the same kind of pictures that found a place even in *Augustus*'s cabinet.

Scilicet in domibus vestris, ut prisca virorum
Artifici fulgent corpora picta manu;
Sic quæ concubitus varios Venerisque figuras
Exprimat, est aliquo parva tabella loco. De Trist. Lib. 2.

There are several of the *Sigilla*, or Seals, *Suetonius*[3] speaks of, to be met with in collections of ancient *Intaglio's*. But, I think, what puts it beyond all doubt that these Coins were rather made by the Emperor's order, than as a Satyr on him, is because they are now found in the very place that was the scene of these his unnatural lusts.

———*Quem rupes Caprearum tetra latebit*
Incesto possessa seni?——— Cl. de 4to Cons. Hon.

Who has not heard of *Caprea*'s guilty shore,
Polluted by the rank old Emperor?

[1] in the margin, beside this quotation, 1705 has: Vid. Martial, Lib. 12. Ep. 43.

[2] same *Martial*] same that *Martial*, 1705.

[3] Seals, *Suetonius*] Seals, that *Suetonius*, 1705.

From *NAPLES* to *ROME*, by Sea.

I TOOK a Felucca [1] at *Naples* to carry me to *Rome*, that I might not be forced to run over the same sights a second time, and might have an opportunity of seeing many things in [2] a road which our voyages-writers [3] have not so particularly described. As in my journey from *Rome* to *Naples* I had *Horace* for my guide, so I had the pleasure of seeing my voyage, from *Naples* to *Rome*, described by *Virgil*. It is indeed much easier to trace out the way *Æneas* [4] took, than that of *Horace*, because *Virgil* has marked it out by Capes, Islands, and other parts of nature, which are not so subject to change or decay as are towns, cities, and the works of art. Mount *Pausilypo* makes a beautiful prospect to those who pass by it: At a small distance from it lyes the little Island of *Nisida*, adorned [5] with a great variety of plantations, rising one above another in so beautiful an order, that the whole Island looks like a large Terrace-Garden. It has two [6] little Ports, and is not at present troubled with any of those noxious steams that *Lucan* mentions.

———*Tali spiramine Nesis*
Emittit Stygium nebulosis aëra saxis. Lib. 6.

Nesi's high rocks such *Stygian* air produce,
And the blue breathing pestilence diffuse.

From *Nisida* we rowed to cape *Miseno*. The extremity of this cape has a long cleft in it, which was enlarged and cut into shape by *Agrippa*, who made this the great port for the *Roman* fleet that served in the Mediterranean; as that of *Ravenna* held the ships designed for the *Adriatic* and *Archipelago*. The highest end of this promontory rises in the fashion of a sepulchre or monument to those that survey it from the land, which perhaps might occasion *Virgil*'s

[1] Felucca] Faloucque, 1705; Falucca, 1718.
[2] things in] things that lye in, 1705.
[3] voyages-writers] Voyage-Writers, 1705, 1718.
[4] way *Æneas*,] Way that *Æneas*, 1705.
[5] adorned] cover'd over, 1705. [6] has two] has in it Two, 1705.

burying *Misenus* under it. I have seen a grave *Italian* Author, who has written a very large book on the *Campania Felice*, that from *Virgil*'s description of this mountain, concludes it was called *Aërius* before *Misenus* had given it a new Name.

At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque
Monte sub Aerio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
Dicitur, æternumque tenet per sæcula nomen. Æn. L. 6.

There are still to be seen a few ruines of old *Misenum*, but the most considerable antiquity of the place is a sett of galleries that are hewn into the rock, and are much more spacious than the *Piscina Mirabilis*. Some will have them [1] to have been a reservoir of water, but others more probably suppose them [1] to have been *Nero*'s baths. I lay the first night on the Isle of *Procita*, which [2] is pretty well cultivated, and contains about four thousand inhabitants, who are all vassals to the Marquis *de Vasto*.

The next morning I went to see the Isle of *Ischia*, that stands further out into the sea. The ancient Poets call it *Inarime*, and lay *Typhœus* under it, by reason of its eruptions of fire. There has been no eruption for near these three hundred years. The last was very terrible, and destroyed a whole city. At present there are scarce any marks left of a subterraneous fire, for the Earth is cold, and over-run [3] with grass and shrubs, where the rocks will suffer it. There are indeed several little cracks in it, through which there issues a constant smoke, but 'tis probable this arises from the warm springs that feed the many baths with which this Island is plentifully stocked. I observed, about one of these breathing passages, a spot of myrtles that flourish within the steam of these vapours, and have a continual moisture hanging upon them.[1] On the south of *Ischia* lyes a round lake of about three quarters of a mile diameter, separate from the sea by a narrow tract of land. It was formerly a *Roman* port. On the north end of the Island stands the town and castle, on an exceeding high rock, divided from

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705. [3] over-run] cover'd, 1705.

the body of the Island, and inaccessible to an enemy on all sides. This Island is larger, but much more rocky and barren than *Procita*. *Virgil* makes them[1] both shake at the fall of part of the Mole of *Bajæ*, that stood at a few miles distance from them.[1]

Qualis in Euböico Bajarum littore quondam
Saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
Constructam jaciunt pelago : Sic illa ruinam
Prona trahit, penitusque vadis illisa recumbit ;
Miscent se maria et nigræ attolluntur arenæ :
Tum sonitu Prochita alta tremit, durumque cubile
Inarime, Jovis Imperiis imposta Typhœo. Æn. 9.

Not with less ruine than the *Bajan* Mole
(Rais'd on the seas the surges to control)
At once comes tumbling down the rocky wall,
Prone to the deep the stones disjointed fall
Off the vast pile; the scatter'd ocean flies;
Black sands, discolour'd froth, and mingled mud arise.
The frighted billows rowl, and seek the shores:
Trembles high *Prochyta*, and *Ischia* roars:
Typhœus roars beneath, by *Jove*'s command,
Astonish'd at the flaw that shakes the land,
Soon shifts his weary side, and scarce awake,
With wonder feels the weight press lighter on his back. *Dryden.*

I do not[2] see why *Virgil* in this noble comparison has given the epithet of *alta* to *Procita*, for it is not only no high Island in it self, but is much lower than *Ischia*, and all the points of land that lye within its neighbourhood. I should think *alta* was joined adverbially with *tremit*, did *Virgil* make use of so equivocal a Syntax. I cannot forbear inserting in this place, the lame imitation *Silius Italicus* has made of the foregoing passage.

Haud aliter structo Tyrrhena ad littora saxo,
Pugnatura fretis subter cæcisque procellis
Pila immane sonans, impingitur ardua ponto ;
Immugit Nereus, divisaque cærula pulsu
Illisum accipiunt irata sub æquore[3] *montem.* L. 4.

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[3] *æquore*] *æquora*, 1705, 1718.

So a vast fragment of the *Bajan* Mole,
That, fix'd amid [1] the *Tyrrhene* waters, braves
The beating tempests and insulting waves,
Thrown from its basis with a dreadful sound,
Dashes the broken billows all around,
And with resistless force the surface cleaves,
That in its angry waves the falling rock receives.

The next morning going to *Cumæ* through a very pleasant path, by the *Mare Mortuum*, and the *Elisian* fields, we saw in our way a great many ruines of sepulchres, and other ancient edifices. *Cumæ* is at present utterly destitute of inhabitants, so much is it changed since *Lucan*'s time, if the Poem to *Piso* be his.

———Acidaliâ quæ condidit Alite muros
Euboicam referens fœcunda Neapolis urbem.

Where the fam'd walls of fruitful *Naples* lye,
That may for multitudes with *Cumæ* [2] vie.

They show here the remains of *Apollo*'s Temple, which all the writers of the antiquities of this place suppose to have been the same *Virgil* describes in his sixth *Æneid*, as built by *Dædalus*, and that the very story which *Virgil* there mentions, was actually engraven on the front of it.

Redditus his primùm terris tibi Phœbe sacravit
Remigium Alarum, posuitque immania templa.
In foribus lethum Androgeo, tum pendere pœnas
Cecropidæ jussi, miserum! Septena quotannis
Corpora natorum: stat ductis sortibus urna.
Contra elata mari respondet Gnossia tellus, &c. Æn. 6.

To the *Cumean* coast at length he came,
And, here alighting, built his costly frame
Inscrib'd to *Phœbus*, here he hung on high
The steerage of his wings that cut the sky;
Then o'er the lofty gate his art emboss'd
Androgeo's death, and off'rings to his ghost,
Sev'n youths from *Athens* yearly sent, to meet
The fate appointed by revengeful *Crete*;

[1] amid] amidst, 1705.

[2] *Cumæ*] *Cuma*, 1705, 1718.

And next to those the dreadful urn was plac'd,
In which the destin'd names by lots were cast. *Dryden.*

Among other subterraneous works there is the beginning of a passage, which is stopped up within less than a hundred yards of the entrance, by the earth that is fallen into it. They suppose it to have been the other mouth of the *Sibyl*'s grotto. It lyes indeed in the same line with the entrance near the *Avernus*, is faced alike with the *Opus Reticulatum*, and has still the marks of chambers that have been cut into the sides of it. Among the many fables and conjectures which [1] have been made on this grotto, I think it is highly probable, that it was once inhabited by such as perhaps thought it a better shelter against the Sun than any other kind of building, or at least that i[t] was made with smaller trouble and expence. As for the Mosaic and other works that may be found in it, they may very well have been added in later ages, according as they thought fit to put the place to different uses. The story of the *Cimmerians* is indeed clogged with improbabilities, as *Strabo* relates it, but it is very likely there was in it some foundation of truth. *Homer*'s description of the *Cimmerians*, whom he places in these parts, answers very well to the inhabitants of such a long dark cavern.

The gloomy race, in subterraneous cells,
Among surrounding shades and darkness dwells;
Hid in th' unwholsome covert of the night,
They shun th' approaches of the chearful light:
The Sun ne'er visits their obscure retreats,
Nor when he runs his course, nor when he sets.
Unhappy mortals!——— *Odys. L.* 10.

Tu quoque littoribus nostris, Æneïa nutrix,
Æternam moriens famam Cajeta dedisti:
Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperiâ in magnâ, siqua[2] *est ea gloria, signat.* Æn. 7.

And thou, O Matron of immortal fame,
Here dying, to the shore hast left thy name:
Cajeta still the place is call'd from thee,
The nurse of great *Æneas*' infancy.

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] *siqua*] *si qua*, 1705, 1718.

Here rest thy bones in rich *Hesperia*'s plains;
Thy name ('tis all a ghost can have) remains. *Dryden.*

I saw at *Cajeta* the rock of marble, said to be cleft by an earthquake at our Saviour's death. There is written over the chappel door, that leads into the crack, the words of the Evangelist, *Ecce terræ-motus factus est magnus.* I believe every one who sees this vast rent in so high a rock, and observes how exactly the convex parts of one side tally with the concave of the other, must be satisfied that it was the effect of an earthquake, though I question not but it either happened long before the time of the *Latin* writers, or in the darker ages since, for otherwise I cannot [1] but think they would have taken notice of its original. The port, town, castle, and antiquities of this place have been often described.

We touched next at *Monte Circeio* which *Homer* calls *Insula Æëa,* whether it be that it was formerly an Island, or that the *Greek* sailors of his time thought it so. It is certain they might easily have been deceived by its appearance, as being a very high mountain joined to the main land by a narrow tract of earth, that is many miles in length, and almost of a level with the surface of the water. The End of this promontory is very rocky, and mightily exposed to the winds and waves, which perhaps gave the first rise to the howlings of Wolves, and the roarings of Lions, that used to be heard thence. This [2] I had a very lively Idea of, being forced to lye under it a whole night. *Virgil*'s description of *Æneas* passing by this coast can never be enough admired. It is worth while to observe how, to heighten the horror of the description, he has prepared the reader's mind, by the solemnity of *Cajeta*'s funeral, and the dead stillness of the night.

At pius exequiis Æneas rite solutis
Aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quiêrunt
Æquora, tendit iter velis, portumque relinquit.
Adspirant auræ in noctem, nec candida cursus
Luna negat: splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.

[1] cannot] can't, 1705. [2] thence. This] thence, which, 1705.

Proxima Circeæ raduntur littora terræ:
Dives inaccessos ubi solis filia lucos
Assiduo resonat cantu, tectisque superbis
Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,
Arguto tenues percurrens pectine telas:
Hinc exaudiri gemitus, iræque leonum
Vincla recusantum, et serâ sub nocte rudentum:
Setigerique sues, atque in præsepibus ursi
Sævire, ac[1] *formæ magnorum ululare luporum:*
Quos hominum ex facie Dea sæva potentibus herbis
Induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum.
Quæ nè monstra pii paterentur talia Troes
Delati in portus, neu littora dira subirent
Neptunus ventis implevit vela secundis:
Atque fugam dedit et præter vada fervida vexit. Æn. L. 7.

Now, when the Prince her fun'ral rites had paid,
He plow'd the *Tyrrhene* seas with sails display'd.
From land a gentle breeze arose by[2] night
Serenely shone the stars, the moon was bright,
And the sea trembled with her silver light.
Now near the shelves of *Circe*'s shores they run,
(*Circe* the rich, the daughter of the Sun)
A dang'rous coast: The goddess wastes her days
In joyous songs, the rocks resound her lays:
In spinning, or the loom, she spends her night,
And cedar brands supply her Father's light.
From hence were heard, (rebellowing to the main)
The roars of Lions that refuse the chain,
The grunts of bristled Boars, and groans of Bears,
And herds of howling Wolves that stun the sailor's ears.
These from their caverns, at the close of night,
Fill the sad Isle with horror and affright.
Darkling they mourn their fate, whom *Circe*'s pow'r,
(That watch'd the Moon, and planetary hour)
With words and wicked herbs, from human kind
Had alter'd, and in brutal shapes confin'd.
Which monsters lest the *Trojan*'s pious host
Should bear, or touch upon th' inchanted coast;

[1] *Sævire, ac*] *Sævire ac*, 1705. [2] arose by] arose, by, 1705, 1718.

Propitious *Neptune* steer'd their course by night
With rising gales, that sped their happy flight. *Dryden.*

Virgil calls this promontory *Æëæ Insula Circes* in the third *Æneid*, but 'tis the Heroe, and not the Poet that speaks. It may however be looked upon as an intimation, that he himself thought it an Island in *Æneas*'s time. As for the thick woods, which not only *Virgil* but *Homer* mentions, in the beautiful description that *Plutarch* and *Longinus* have taken notice of, they are most of them [1] grubbed up since the promontory has been cultivated and inhabited, though there are still many spots of it which [2] show the natural inclination of the soil leans that way.

The next place we touched upon was *Nettuno*, where we found nothing remarkable besides the extreme poverty and laziness of the inhabitants. At two miles distance from it lye the ruines of *Antium*, that are spread over a great circuit of land. There are still left the foundations of several buildings, and what are always the last parts that perish in a ruine, many subterraneous grotto's and passages of a great length. The foundations of *Nero*'s port are still to be seen. It was altogether artificial, and composed of huge moles running round it, in a kind of circular figure, except where the ships were to enter, and had about three quarters of a mile in its shortest diameter. Though the making of this port must have cost prodigious sums of mony, we find no Medal of it, and yet the same Emperor has a Medal struck in his own name for the port of *Ostia*, which in reality was a work of his predecessor *Claudius*. The last Pope was at considerable charges to make a little kind of harbour in this place, and to convey fresh water to it, which was one of the artifices of the grand Duke, to divert his Holiness from his project of making *Civita-vecchia* a free port. There lyes between *Antium* and *Nettuno* a Cardinal's *Villa*, which is one of the pleasantest for walks, fountains, shades, and prospects, that I ever saw.

Antium was formerly famous for the Temple of Fortune

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [2] which] that, 1705.

that stood in it. All agree there were two Fortunes worshipped here, which *Suetonius* calls the *Fortunæ Antiates*, and *Martial* the *Sorores Antii*. Some are of opinion, that by these two Goddesses were meant the two *Nemeses*, one of which rewarded good Men, as the other punished the wicked. *Fabretti* and others are apt to believe, that by the two Fortunes were only meant in general the Goddess who [1] sent prosperity, or she who [1] sent afflictions to mankind, and produce in their behalf an ancient monument found in this very place, and superscribed *Fortunæ Felici*, which indeed may favour one opinion as well as the other, and shows at least they are not mistaken in the general sense of their division. I do not [2] know whether any body has taken notice, that this double function of the Goddess gives a considerable light and beauty to the Ode which [3] *Horace* has addressed to her. The whole Poem is a prayer to Fortune, that she would prosper *Cæsar*'s arms, and confound his enemies, so that each of the Goddesses has her task assigned in the Poet's prayer; and we may observe the Invocation is divided between the two Deities, the first line relating indifferently to either. That which I have marked speaks to the Goddess of prosperity, or if you please to the *Nemesis* of the good, and the other to the Goddess of adversity, or to the *Nemesis* of the wicked.

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus, *vel superbos*
Vertere funeribus triumphos / &c.

Great Goddess, *Antium*'s guardian power,
Whose force is strong, and quick to raise
The lowest to the highest place;
[4] *Or with a wondrous fall*
To bring the haughty lower,
And turn proud triumphs to a funeral,[4] &c. *Creech.*

If we take the first interpretation of the two Fortunes for the double *Nemesis*, the compliment to *Cæsar* is the greater,

[1] who] that, 1705.
[2] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] *Or with . . . funeral*] *Not in italics in* 1705.

and the fifth Stanza clearer than the Commentators usually make it, for the *Clavi trabales, cunei, uncus, liquidumque plumbum,* were actually used in the punishment of criminals.

Our next stage brought us to the mouth of the *Tiber,* into which we entered with some danger, the sea being generally very rough in these parts, where the river rushes into it. The season of the year, the muddiness of the stream, with the many green trees hanging [1] over it, put me in mind of the delightful image that *Virgil* has given us when *Æneas* took the first view of it.

Atque hic Æneas ingentem ex æquore lucum
Prospicit: hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amæno
Vorticibus rapidis et multâ flavus arenâ
In mare prorumpit: variæ circumque supraque
Assuetæ ripis volucres et fluminis alveo
Æthera mulcebant cantu, lucoque volabant.
Flectere iter sociis terræque advertere proras
Imperat, et lætus fluvio succedit opaco. Æn. L. 7.

The *Trojan* from the main beheld a wood,
Which thick with shades, and a brown horror stood:
Betwixt the trees the *Tiber* took his course,
With whirlpools dimpled, and with downward force
That drove the sand along, he took his way,
And roll'd his yellow billows to the sea;
About him, and above, and round the wood,
The birds that haunt the borders of his flood,
That bath'd within, or bask'd upon his side,
To tuneful songs their narrow throats apply'd.
The captain gives command, the joyful train
Glide through the gloomy shade, and leave the main. *Dryden.*

It is impossible to learn from the ruines of the port of *Ostia,* what its figure was when it stood whole and entire. I shall therefore set down the Medal, that I have before [Plate II.] mentioned, which represents it as it was formerly.

It is worth while to compare *Juvenal*'s description of this port with the figure it makes on the coin.

[1] hanging] that hung, 1705.

Tandem intrat positas inclusa per æquora moles,
Tyrrhenamque Pharon, porrectaque brachia, rursus
Quæ pelago occurrunt medio longèque relinquunt
Italiam: non sic igitur mirabere portus
Quos natura dedit——— Juv. Sat. 12.

At last within the mighty Mole she gets,
Our *Tyrrhene Pharos*, that the mid sea meets
With its embrace, and leaves the land behind;
A work so wond'rous Nature ne'er design'd. *Dryd. Juv.*[1]

The seas may very properly be said to be enclosed (*Inclusa*) between the two semicircular Moles that almost surround them.[2] The *Colossus*, with something like a lighted torch in its hand, is probably the *Pharos* in the second line. The two Moles that we must suppose are joined to the land behind the *Pharos*, are very poetically described by the

———Porrectaque brachia, rursus
Quæ pelago occurrunt medio, longèque relinquunt
Italiam———————

as they retire from one another in the compass they make, 'till their two ends almost meet a second time in the midst of the waters, where the figure of *Neptune* sits. The Poet's reflection on the haven is very just, since there are few natural ports better land-locked, and closed on all sides than this seems to have been. The figure of *Neptune* has a Rudder by him, to mark the convenience of the harbour for navigation, as he is represented himself at the entrance of it, to show it stood in the sea. The Dolphin distinguishes him from a river God, and figures out his dominion over the seas. He holds the same fish in his hand on other Medals. What it means we may learn from the *Greek* Epigram on the figure of a *Cupid*, that had a Dolphin in one hand, and a Flower in the other.

Οὐδὲ μάτην παλόμαις κατέχει δελφῖνα καὶ ἄνθος,
Τῇ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν τῇδε θάλασσαν ἔχει.

[1] *Dryd. Juv.*] Not in 1705, added in 1718.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

A proper emblem graces either hand,
In one he holds the sea, in one the land.

Half a day more brought us to *Rome*, through a road that is commonly visited by travellers.

R O M E.

IT is generally observed, that modern *Rome* stands higher than the ancient; some have computed it about fourteen or fifteen feet, taking one place with another. The reason given for it is, that the present city stands upon the ruines of the former; and indeed I have often observed, that where any considerable pile of building stood anciently one still finds a rising ground, or a little kind of hill, which was doubtless made up out of the fragments and rubbish of the ruined edifice. But besides this particular cause, we may assign another that has very much contributed to the raising the situation of several parts of *Rome*: It being certain the great quantities of earth, that have been washed off from the hills by the violence of showers, have had no small share in it. This any one may be sensible of who observes how far several buildings, that stand near the roots of mountains, are sunk deeper in the earth than those that have been on the tops of hills, or in open plains; for which reason the present face of *Rome* is much more even and level than it was formerly; the same cause that has raised the lower grounds having contributed to sink those that were higher.

There are in *Rome* two setts of Antiquities, the Christian and the Heathen. The former, though of a fresher date, are so embroiled with Fable and Legend, that one receives but little satisfaction from searching into them.[1] The other give a great deal of pleasure to such as have met

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

with them [1] before in ancient Authors; for a man who is in *Rome* can scarce see an object that does not call to mind a piece of a *Latin* Poet or Historian. Among the remains of Old *Rome*, the grandeur of the Common-wealth shows it self chiefly in works that were either necessary or convenient, such as Temples, High-ways, Aqueducts, Walls and Bridges of the City. On the contrary the magnificence of *Rome*, under the Emperors, is seen principally in such works as were rather for ostentation or luxury, than any real usefulness or necessity, as in Baths, Amphitheaters, Circus's, Obelisks, Triumphal [2] Pillars, Arches and Mausoleums; for what they added to the Aqueducts was rather to supply their Baths and Naumachias, and to embellish the city with fountains, than out of any real necessity there [3] was for them.[1] These several remains have been so copiously described by abundance of travellers, and other writers, particularly by those concerned in the learned collection of *Grævius*, that it is very difficult to make any new discoveries on so beaten a subject. There is however so much to be observed in so spacious a field of Antiquities, that it is almost impossible to survey them [1] without taking new hints, and raising different reflections, according as a man's natural turn of thoughts, or the course of his studies, direct him.

[4] No part of the Antiquities of *Rome* pleased me so much as the ancient Statues, of which there is still an incredible variety. The workmanship is often the most exquisite of any thing in its kind. A man would wonder how it were possible for so much life to enter into marble, as may be discovered in some of the best of them [1]; and even in the meanest one has the satisfaction of seeing the faces, postures, airs and dress of those that have lived so many ages before us. There is a strange resemblance between the figures of the several heathen Deities, and the descriptions that the *Latin* Poets have given us of them [1]; but as the first may be looked upon as the ancienter of the two, I question not but the *Roman* Poets were the copiers of the *Greek* Statuaries. Though on other occasions we often

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] Triumphal] Triumphant, 1705, 1718.
[3] there] that there, 1705.
[4] *No new paragraph in* 1705.

find the Statuaries took their subjects from the Poets. The *Laocoon* is too known an instance among many others that are to be met with at *Rome*. In the *Villa Aldabrandina* are the figures of an old and young man, engaged together at the *Cæstus*, who are probably the *Dares* and *Entellus* of *Virgil*; where by the way one may observe the make of the ancient *Cæstus*, that it only consisted of so many large thongs about the hand, without anything like a piece of lead at the end of them,[1] as some writers of Antiquities have falsely imagined.

I question not but many passages in the old Poets hint at several parts of Sculpture, that were in vogue in the Author's time, though they are now never thought of, and that therefore such passages lose much of their beauty in the eye of a modern reader, who does not look upon them [1] in the same light with the Author's contemporaries. I shall only mention two or three out of *Juvenal*, that his Commentators have not taken notice of. The first runs thus,

> *Multa pudicitiæ veteris vestigia forsan,*
> *Aut aliqua extiterint, et sub Jove, sed Jove nondum*
> *Barbato*——————— Sat. 6.

> Some thin remains of chastity appear'd
> Ev'n under *Jove*, but *Jove* without a beard. *Dryden.*

I appeal to any reader, if the humour here would not appear much more natural and unforced to a people that saw every day some or other statue of this God with a thick bushy beard, as there are still many of them [1] extant at *Rome*, than it can to us who have no such Idea of him; especially if we consider there was in the same city a Temple dedicated to the young *Jupiter*, called *Templum Væjovis*, where, in all probability, there stood the particular Statue of a * *Jupiter Imberbis*. *Juvenal*, in another place, makes his flatterer compare the neck of one that is but feebly built, to that of *Hercules* holding up *Antæus* from the earth.

* Vid. Ov. de fastis, Lib. 3. Ecl.[2] 7.

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] Ecl.] El., 1705.

Et longum invalidi collum cervicibus æquat
Herculis Antæum procul a tellure tenentis. Sat. 3.

His long crane neck and narrow shoulders praise;
You'd think they were describing *Hercules*
Lifting *Antæus*——— ——— *Dryden.*

What a strained unnatural similitude must this seem to a modern reader, but how full of humour, if we suppose it alludes to any celebrated statues of these two champions, that stood perhaps in some publick place or high-way near *Rome?* And what makes it more than probable there were such statues, we meet with the figures, which[1] *Juvenal* here describes, on antique Intaglio's and Medals. Nay, *Propertius* has taken notice of the very statues.

———*Luctantum in pulvere signa*
Herculis Antæique——— Lib. 3. Car. 1.

Antæus here and stern *Alcides* strive,
And both the grappling statues seem to live.

I cannot[2] forbear observing here, that the turn of the neck and arms is often commended in the *Latin* Poets among the beauties of a man, as in *Horace* we find both put together, in that beautiful[3] description of jealousie.

Dum tu Lydia Telephi
Cervicem roseam, et cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, væ meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur:
Tunc nec mens mihi, nec color
Certâ sede manent: humor et in genas
Furtim labitur, arguens
Quàm lentis penitus macerer ignibus.

While *Telephus*'s youthful charms,
His rosie neck, and winding arms,
With endless rapture you recite,
And in the tender name delight;
My heart, enrag'd by jealous heats,
With numberless resentments beats;

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] cannot] can't, 1705.
[3] beautiful] charming, 1705.

From my pale cheeks the colour flies,
And all the man within me dies;
By fits my swelling grief appears
In rising sighs, and falling tears,
That show too well the warm desires,
The silent, slow, consuming fires,
Which[1] on my inmost vitals prey,
And melt my very soul away.

This we should be at a loss to account for, did we not[2] observe in the old *Roman* statues, that these two parts were always bare, and exposed to view, as much as our hands and face are at present. I cannot[3] leave *Juvenal* without taking notice that his

Ventilat æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum
Nec sufferre queat major[*i*]*s pondera Gemmæ.* Sat. 1.

Charg'd with light summer rings his fingers sweat,
Unable to support a gem of weight. *Dryden.*

was not anciently so great an Hyperbole as it is now, for I have seen old *Roman* rings so very thick about, and with such large stones in them,[4] that 'tis no wonder a Fop should reckon them[4] a little cumbersome in the summer season of so hot a climate.

It is certain that Satyr delights in such allusions and instances as are extremely natural and familiar: When therefore we see any thing in an old Satyrist that looks forced and pedantick, we ought to consider how it appeared in the time the[5] Poet writ,[6] and whether or no there might not be some particular circumstances to recommend it to the readers of his own age, which[1] we are now deprived of. One of the finest ancient statues in *Rome* is a *Meleager* with a spear in his hand, and the head of a wild Boar on one side of him. It is of *Parian* marble, and as yellow as ivory. One meets with many other figures of *Meleager* in the antient *Basso Relievo's*, and on the sides of the *Sarcophagi*, or funeral monuments. Perhaps it was the arms or device of the old *Roman* hunters; which conjecture I have found

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] we not] not we, 1705.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[5] the] that the, 1705.
[6] writ] wrote, 1705.

confirmed in a passage of *Manilius*, that lets us know the pagan hunters had *Meleager* for their patron, as the christians have their St. *Hubert*. He speaks of the constellation which [1] makes a good sports-man.

————Quibus aspirantibus orti
Te Meleagre colunt———— Manil. Lib. 1.

I question not but this sets a verse, in the fifth Satyr of *Juvenal*, in a much better light than if we suppose that the Poet aims only at the old story of *Meleager*, without considering it as so very common and familiar a one among the *Romans*.

——Flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
Spumat aper—— Juv. S. 5.

A Boar intire, and worthy of the sword
Of *Meleager*, smoaks upon the board. Mr. *Bowles*.

In the beginning of the ninth Satyr *Juvenal* asks his friend why he looks like *Marsya* when he was overcome?

Scire velim quare toties mihi Nævole tristis
Occurris fronte obductâ, seu [2] *Marsya victus?*

Tell me why sauntring thus from place to place,
I meet thee, *Nevolus*, with a clouded face? *Dryden*'s *Juvenal*.[3]

Some of the Commentators tell us, that *Marsya* was a Lawyer who had lost his cause; others say that this passage alludes to the story of the Satire *Marsyas*, who [4] contended with *Apollo*; which I think is more humorous than the other, if we consider there was a famous statue of *Apollo* fleaing *Marsya* in the midst of the *Roman Forum*, as there are still several ancient statues of *Rome* on the same subject.

[5] There is a passage in the sixth Satyr of *Juvenal*, that I could never tell what to make of, 'till I had got the interpretation of it from one of *Bellorio*'s ancient *Basso Relievo*'s.

Magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles
Ut phaleris gauderet equus: cælataque cassis

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] *seu*] *ceu*, 1705.
[3] *Dryden*'s *Juvenal*.] Not in 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.
[5] *No new paragraph in* 1705.

Romuleæ simulachra feræ mansuescere jussæ
Imperii fato, et geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
Ac nudam effigiem clypeo fulgentis et hastâ,
Pendentisque Dei, perituro ostenderet hosti. Juv. Sat. 11.

Or else a helmet for himself he made,
Where various warlike figures were inlaid:
The *Roman* Wolf suckling the twins was there,
And *Mars* himself, arm'd with his shield and spear,
Hov'ring above his crest, did dreadful show,
As threatning death to each resisting foe. *Dryden*'s *Juvenal*.[1]

Juvenal here describes the simplicity of the old *Roman* soldiers, and the figures that were generally engraven on their helmets. The first of them[2] was the Wolf giving suck to *Romulus* and *Rhemus:* The second, which[3] is comprehended in the two last verses, is not so intelligible. Some of the Commentators tell us, that the God here mentioned is *Mars*, that he comes to see his two Sons sucking the Wolf, and that the old Sculptors generally drew their figures naked, that they might have the advantage of representing the different swelling of the muscles, and the turns of the body. But they are extremely at a loss to know what is meant by the word *Pendentis*; some fancy it expresses only the great embossment of the figure, others believe it hung off the helmet in *Alto Relievo*, as in the foregoing translation. *Lubin* supposes that the God *Mars* was engraven on the shield, and that he is said to be hanging, because the shield which bore him hung on the left-shoulder. One of the old Interpreters is of opinion, that by hanging is only meant a posture of bending forward to strike the enemy. Another will have it, that whatever is placed on the head may be said to hang, as we call hanging gardens, such as are planted on the top of the house. Several learned men, who[4] like none of these explications, believe there has been a fault in the transcriber, and that *Pendentis* ought to be *Perdentis*; but they quote no manuscript in favour of their conjecture. The true meaning of the words is certainly as follows. The *Roman* soldiers, who were not a little proud of their Founder, and

[1] *Dryden*'s *Juvenal*] Not in 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.

the military genius of their Republick, used to bear on their helmets the first history of *Romulus*, who was begot by the God of war, and suckled by a wolf. The figure of the god was made as if descending upon the priestess *Ilia*, or as others call her *Rhea Silvia*. The occasion required his body should be naked,

Tu quoque inermis eras cum te formosa sacerdos
Cepit: ut huic urbi semina magna dares. Ov. de Fas. L. 3.

Then too, our mighty Sire, thou stood'st disarm'd,
When thy rapt soul the lovely priestess charm'd,
That *Rome*'s high founder bore———

though on other occasions he is drawn, as *Horace* has described him, *Tunicâ cinctum adamantinâ*. The Sculptor however, to distinguish him from the rest of the gods, gave him what the Medallists call his proper attributes, a spear in one hand, and a shield in the other. As he was represented descending, his figure appeared suspended in the air over the Vestal Virgin, in which sense the word *Pendentis* is extremely proper and poetical. Besides the antique *Basso Relievo*, that made me first think of this interpretation, I have since met with the same figures on
[Plate II.] the reverses of a couple of ancient coins, which were stamped in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as a compliment to that Emperor, whom for his excellent government and conduct of the city of *Rome*, the Senate regarded as a second kind of founder.

Ilia Vestalis (quid enim vetat inde moveri)
Sacra lavaturas manè petebat aquas:
Fessa resedit humi, ventosque accepit aperto
Pectore; turbatas restituitque comas.
Dum sedet; umbrosæ salices volucresque canoræ
Fecerunt somnos, et leve murmur aquæ.
Blanda quies victis furtim subrepit ocellis,
Et cadit a mento languida facta manus?
Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit, potiturque cupitâ:
Et sua divinâ furta fefellit ope.
Somnus abit: jacet illa gravis, jam scilicet intra
Viscera Romanæ conditor urbis erat. Ov. de Fast. Lib. 3. Eleg. 1.

As the fair Vestal to the fountain came,
(Let none be startled at a Vestal's name)
Tir'd with the walk, she laid her down to rest,
And to the winds expos'd her glowing breast
To take the freshness of the morning air,
And gather'd in a knot her flowing hair:
While thus she rested on her arm reclin'd,
The hoary willows waving with the wind,
And feather'd choirs that warbled in the shade,
And purling streams that through the meadow stray'd,
In drowsie murmurs lull'd the gentle maid.
The God of war beheld the Virgin lye,
The God beheld her with a lover's eye,
And by so tempting an occasion press'd,
The beauteous maid, whom he beheld, possess'd:
Conceiving as she slept, her fruitful womb
Swell'd with the founder of immortal *Rome*.

I cannot [1] quit this head without taking notice of a line in *Seneca* the Tragedian.

———*Primus emergit solo*
Dextrâ ferocem cornibus premens taurum
Zetus———— Sen. OEdip. Act. 3.

——First *Zetus* rises through the ground,
Bending the Bull's tough neck with pain,
That tosses back his horns in vain.

I cannot [1] doubt but the Poet had here in view the posture of *Zetus* in the famous groupe of figures, which [2] represents the two brothers binding *Dirce* to the horns of a mad bull.

I could not forbear taking particular notice of the several musical instruments that are to be seen in the hands of the *Apollo's*, Muses, Fauns, Satyrs, Bacchanals, and Shepherds, which might certainly give a great light to the dispute for preference between the ancient and modern musick. It would perhaps be no impertinent design to take off all their models in wood, which might not only give us some notion of the ancient Musick, but help us to pleasanter Instruments than are now in use. By the appearance

[1] cannot] can't, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705.

they make in marble, there is not one String-instrument that seems comparable to our Violins, for they are all played on, either by the bare fingers, or the *Plectrum*, so that they were incapable of adding any length to their notes, or of varying them [1] by those insensible swellings, and wearings away of sound upon the same string, which [2] give so wonderful a sweetness to our modern musick. Besides, that the string-instruments must have had very low and feeble voices, as may be guessed from the small proportion of wood about them,[1] which could not contain air enough to render the strokes, in any considerable measure, full and sonorous. There is a great deal of difference in the make, not only of the several kinds of instruments, but even among those of the same name. The *Syringa*, for example, has sometimes four, and sometimes a more [3] pipes, as high as the [4] twelve. The same variety of strings may be observed on their Harps, and of stops on their *Tibiæ*, which shows the little foundation that such writers have gone upon, who from a verse perhaps in *Virgil*'s Eclogues, or a short passage in a *Classic* Author, have been so very nice in determining the precise shape of the ancient musical instruments, with the exact number of their pipes, strings and stops. It is indeed the usual fault of the writers of Antiquities, to streighten and confine themselves to particular models. They are for making a kind of stamp on every thing of the same name, and if they find any thing like an old description of the subject they treat on, they take care to regulate it on all occasions, according to the figure it makes in such a single passage: As the learned *German* author, quoted by Monsieur *Baudelot*, who had probably never seen any thing of a Houshold-God, more than a *Canopus*, affirms roundly, that all the ancient *Lares* were made in the fashion of a jug-bottle. In short, the Antiquaries have been guilty of the same fault as the Systeme-writers, who [5] are for cramping their subjects into as narrow a space as they can, and for reducing the whole extent of a science into a few general Maxims. This a man has occasion of observing

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [2] which] that, 1705.
[3] a more] more, 1705, 1718. [4] the] to, 1705, 1718. [5] who] that, 1705.

more than once, in the several fragments of Antiquity that are still to be seen in *Rome*. How many dresses are there for each particular Deity ? What a variety of shapes in the ancient Urns, Lamps, Lachrymary vessels, *Priapus's*, Houshold-Gods, which have some of them [1] been represented under such a particular form, as any one of them [1] has been described with in an ancient Author, and would probably be all so, were they not still to be seen in their own vindication ? Madam *Dacier*, from some old cuts of *Terence*, fancies that the *Larva* or *Persona* of the *Roman* Actors, was not only a vizard for the face, but had false hair to it, and came over the whole head like a helmet. Among all the statues at *Rome*, I remember to have seen but two that are the figures of Actors, which are both in the *Villa Matthei*. One sees on them [1] the fashion of the old *Sock* [2] and *Larva*, the latter of which answers the description that is given of it by this learned Lady, though I question not but several others were in use ; for I have seen the figure of *Thalia*, the comic Muse, sometimes with an entire head-piece in her hand, sometimes with about half the head, and a little frizze, like a tower, running round the edges of the face, and sometimes with a mask for the face only, like those of a modern make. Some of the *Italian* Actors wear at present these masks for the whole head. I remember formerly I could have no notion of that fable in *Phædrus*, before I had seen the figures of these entire head-pieces.

Personam tragicam fortè vulpes viderat :
O quanta species, inquit, cerebrum non habet ! L. 1. Fab. 7.

As wily *Renard* walk'd the streets at night,
On a Tragedian's mask he chanc'd to light,
Turning it o'er, he mutter'd with disdain,
How vast a head is here without a brain !

[3] I find Madam *Dacier* has taken notice of this passage in *Phædrus*, upon the same occasion ; but not of the following one in *Martial*, which alludes to the same kind of masks.[3]

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718. [2] *Sock*] Not in ital., 1705, 1718.
[3] I find . . . masks.] *Martial* alludes to the same kind of Masks in the following Verses, 1705.

Non omnes fallis, scit te Proserpina canum,
Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo. L. 3. Ep. 43.

Why should'st thou try to hide thy self in youth?
Impartial *Proserpine* beholds the truth,
And laughing at so fond and vain a task,
Will strip thy hoary noddle of its mask.

In the *Villa Borghese* is the Bust of a young *Nero*, which[1] shows us the form of an ancient *Bulla* on the breast, which is neither like a heart, as *Macrobius* describes it, nor altogether resembles that in Cardinal *Chigi*'s cabinet; so that without establishing a particular instance into a general rule, we ought, in subjects of this nature, to leave room for the humour of the artist or wearer. There are many figures of Gladiators at *Rome*, though I do not[2] remember to have seen any of the *Retiarius*, the *Samnite*, or the antagonist to the *Pinnirapus*. But what I could not find among the statues, I met with in two antique pieces of Mosaic, which[1] are in the possession of a Cardinal. The *Retiarius* is engaged with the *Samnite*, and has had so lucky a throw, that his net covers the whole body of his adversary from head to foot, yet his antagonist recovered himself out of the toiles, and was conqueror, according to the inscription. In another piece is represented the combat of the *Pinnirapus*, who is armed like the *Samnite*, and not like the *Retiarius*, as some learned men have supposed[3]: On the helmet of his antagonist are seen the two *Pinnæ*, that stand up on either side like the wings in the *Petasus* of a *Mercury*, but rise much higher, and are more pointed.

There is no part of the *Roman* Antiquities that we are better acquainted with, than what relates to their sacrifices. For as the old *Romans* were very much devoted to their religion, we see several parts of it entering their ancient *Basso Relievo's*, Statues, and Medals, not to mention their altars, tombs, monuments, and those[4] particular ornaments of Architecture which[1] were borrowed from it. An heathen Ritual could not instruct a man better than these several pieces of Antiquity, in the particular ceremonies

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[3] supposed] fancy'd, 1705.
[4] those] the, 1705.

and punctilio's that attended the different kinds of sacrifices. Yet there is much [1] greater variety in the Make of the sacrificing instruments, than one finds in those who [2] have treated of them,[3] or have [4] given us their pictures. For not to insist too long on such a subject, I saw in Signior *Antonio Politi*'s collection a *Patera* without any rising in the middle, as it is generally engraven, and another with a handle to it, as *Macrobius* describes it, though it is quite contrary to any that I have ever seen cut in marble; and I have observed perhaps several hundreds. I might here enlarge on the shape of the triumphal chariot, which [5] is different in some pieces of sculpture from what it appears in others; and on the figure of the *Discus*, that is to be seen in the hand of the celebrated *Castor* at Don *Livio*'s, which is perfectly round, and not oblong, as some Antiquaries have represented it, nor has it any thing like a sling fastened to it, to add force to the toss.

Protinus imprudens, actusque cupidine lusus
Tollere Tænarides orbem *properabat*————
————De Hyacinthi disco. Ov. Met. L. 10.

Th' unwary youth, impatient for the cast,
Went to snatch up the rolling orb in haste.

Notwithstanding there are so great a multitude of cloathed statues at *Rome*, I could never discover the several different *Roman* garments, for 'tis very difficult to trace out the figure of a vest, through all the plaits and foldings of the drapery; besides, that the *Roman* garments did not differ from each other, so much by the shape as by the embroidery and colour, the one of which was too nice for the statuary's observation, as the other does not lye within the expression of the chissel. I observed, in abundance of *Bas Reliefs*, that the *Cinctus Gabinus* is nothing else but a long garment, not unlike a surplice, which would have trailed on the ground had it hung loose, and was therefore gathered about the middle with a girdle. After this it is worth while to read the laborious description that

[1] much] a much, 1705, 1718.
[2] who] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] have] that have, 1705.
[5] which] that, 1705.

Ferrarius has made of it. *Cinctus Gabinus non aliud fuit quàm cum togæ lacinia lævo brachio su[b]ducta in tergum ita rejiciebatur, ut contracta retraheretur ad pectus, atque ita in nodum necteretur; qui nodus sive cinctus togam contrahebat, brevioremque et strictiorem reddidit. De re Vestiar.* L. 1. C. 14. *Lipsius*'s description of[1] the *Samnite* armour, seems drawn out of the very words of *Livy*; yet not long ago a statue, which was dug up at *Rome*, dressed in this kind of armour, gives a much different explication of *Livy* from what *Lipsius* has done. This figure was superscribed *BA. TO. NI.* from whence *Fabretti* concludes, that it was a monument erected to the gladiator *Bato*, who after having succeeded in two combates, was killed in the third, and honourably interred by order of the Emperor *Caracalla*. The manner of punctuation after each sillable is to be met with in other antique inscriptions. I confess I could never learn where this figure is now to be seen, but I think it may serve as an instance of the great uncertainty of this science of antiquities.[*]

In a palace of Prince *Cesarini* I saw busts of all the *Antonine* family, which were dug up about two years since, not far from *Albano*, in a place where is supposed to have stood a *Villa* of *Marcus Aurelius*. There are the heads of *Antoninus Pius*, the *Faustina*'s, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Lucius Verus*, a young *Commodus*, and *Annius Verus*, all incomparably well cut.

Though the statues that have been found among the ruines of old *Rome* are already very numerous, there is no question but posterity will have the pleasure of seeing many noble pieces of sculpture which are still undiscovered, for doubtless there are greater treasures of this nature under ground, than what are yet brought to light. They have often dug into lands that are described in old Authors, as the places where such particular statues or obelisks stood, and have seldom failed of success in their pursuits. There are still many such promising spots of ground that have never been searched into. A great part of the *Palatine* mountain, for example, lyes untouched, which

* Vid. Fabr. de Columnâ Trajani.

[1] *Lipsius*'s . . . of] The Description that *Lipsius* makes of, 1705.

was formerly the seat of the imperial palace, and may be presumed to abound with more treasures of this nature than any other part of *Rome*.

Ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti,
Exultatque habitante Deo, potioraque Delphis
Supplicibus latè populis oracula pandit.
Non alium certè decuit rectoribus orbis
Esse Larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas
Æstimat et summi sentit fastigia juris,
Attollens apicem subjectis regia rostris
Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum
Cingitur excubiis——— Claud. de Sexto Consulat. Honorii.

The *Palatine*, proud *Rome*'s imperial seat,
(An awful pile!) stands venerably great:
Thither the kingdoms and the nations come,
In supplicating crouds to learn their doom;
To *Delphi* less th' enquiring worlds repair,
Nor does a greater God inhabit there:
This sure the pompous mansion was design'd
To please the mighty rulers of mankind;
Inferior temples rise on either hand,
And on the borders of the palace stand,
While o'er the rest her head she proudly rears,
And lodg'd amidst her guardian Gods appears.

But whether it be that the richest of these discoveries fall into the Pope's hands, or for some other reason, it is said that the Prince *Farnese*, who is the present owner of this seat, will keep it from being turned up 'till he sees one of his own family in the chair. There are undertakers in *Rome* who[1] often purchase the digging of fields, gardens, or vineyards, where they find any likelihood of succeeding, and some have been known to arrive at great estates by it. They pay according to the dimensions of the surface they are to break up, and after having made Essays into it, as they do for coal in *England*, they rake into the most promising parts of it, though they often find, to their disappointment, that others have been beforehand with them.[2] However they generally gain enough by the

[1] who] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

rubbish and bricks,[1] which the present Architects value much beyond those of a modern make, to defray the charges of their search. I was shown two spaces of ground, where part of *Nero*'s golden house stood, for which the owner has been offered [2] an extraordinary sum of mony. What encouraged the undertakers are several very ancient trees, which [3] grow upon the spot, from whence they conclude that these particular tracts of ground must have lain untouched for some ages. 'Tis pity there is not something like a publick register, to preserve the memory of such statues as have been found from time to time, and to mark the particular places where they have been taken up, which would not only prevent [4] many fruitless searches for the future, but might often give a considerable light into the quality of the place, or the design of the statue.

But the great magazine for all kinds of treasure, is supposed to be the bed of the *Tiber*. We may be sure, when [5] the *Romans* lay under the apprehensions of seeing their city sacked by a barbarous enemy, as they have done more than once, that they would take care to bestow such of their riches this way as could best bear the water: besides what the insolence of a brutish Conqueror may be supposed to have contributed, who had an ambition to waste and destroy all the beauties of so celebrated a city. I need not mention the old common-shore of *Rome*, which [3] ran from all parts of the town with the current and violence of an ordinary river, nor the frequent inundations of the *Tiber*, which [3] may have swept away many of the ornaments of its banks, nor the several statues that the *Romans* themselves flung into it, when they would revenge themselves on the memory of an ill citizen, a dead tyrant, or a discarded favourite. At *Rome* they have so general an opinion of the riches of this river, that the *Jews* have formerly proffered the Pope to cleanse it, so they might have for their pains, what they found in the bosome of it. I have seen the valley near *Ponte molle*, which they proposed to fashion into a new channel for it, 'till they had cleared the old for its reception. The Pope

[1] rubbish and bricks] Bricks and Rubbish, 1705.
[2] offered] proffer'd, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] prevent] spare, 1705.
[5] when] that when, 1705.

however would not comply with the proposal, as fearing the heats might advance too far before they had finished their work, and produce a pestilence among his people; though I do not [1] see why such a design might not be executed now with as little danger as in *Augustus*'s time, were there as many hands employed upon it. The city of *Rome* would receive a great advantage from the undertaking, as it would raise the banks and deepen the bed of the *Tiber*, and by consequence free them [2] from those frequent Inundations to which they are so subject at present; for the channel of the river is observed to be narrower within the walls, than either below or above them.[3]

Before I quit this subject of the statues, I think it very observable, that among those which are already found there should be so many not only of the same persons, but made after the same design. One would not indeed wonder to see several figures of particular Deities and Emperors, who had a multitude of temples erected to them,[2] and had their several sets of worshippers and admirers. Thus *Ceres*, the most beneficent and useful [4] of the heathen divinities, has more statues than any other of the Gods or Goddesses, as several of the *Roman* Emperesses took a pleasure to be represented in her dress. And I believe one finds as many figures of that excellent Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, as of all the rest together; because the *Romans* had so great a veneration for his memory, that it grew into a part of their religion to preserve a statue of him in almost every private family. But how comes it to pass, that so many of these statues are cut after the very same model, and not only of these, but of such as had no relation, either to the interest or devotion of the owner, as the dying *Cleopatra*, the *Narcissus*, the *Faune* [5] leaning against the trunk of a tree, the Boy with the bird in his hand, the *Leda* and her swan, with many others of the same nature? I must confess I always look upon figures of this kind, as the copies of some celebrated master-piece, and question not but they were famous originals, that gave rise to the several statues which [6] we see with the same air, posture,

[1] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[2] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] useful] necessary, 1705.
[5] *Faune*] Not in italics in 1705, 1718.
[6] which] that, 1705.

and attitudes.[1] What confirms me in this conjecture, there are many ancient statues of the *Venus de Medicis*, the *Silenus* with the young *Bacchus* in his arms, the *Hercules Farnese*, the *Antinöus*, and other beautiful originals of the ancients, that are already drawn out of the rubbish, where they lay concealed for so many ages. Among the rest I have observed more that are formed after the design of the *Venus* of *Medicis* than of any other, from whence I believe one may conclude, that it was the most celebrated statue among the Ancients, as well as among the Moderns. It has always been usual for Sculptors to work upon the best models, as it is for those that are curious to have copies of them.[2]

I am apt to think something of the same account may be given of the resemblance that we meet with in many of the antique *Basso Relievo's*. I remember I was very well pleased with the device of one that I met with on the tomb of a young *Roman* Lady, which had been made for her by her mother. The Sculptor had chosen the rape of *Proserpine* for his device, where in one end you might see the God of the dead (*Pluto*) hurrying away a beautiful young virgin, (*Proserpine*) and at the other the grief and distraction of the mother (*Ceres*) on that occasion. I have since observed the same device upon several *Sarcophagi*, that have enclosed the ashes of men or boys, maids or matrons; for when the thought took, though at first it received its rise from such a particular occasion as I have mentioned, the ignorance of the Sculptors applyed it promiscuously. I know there are Authors who discover[3] a mystery in this device.

A man is sometimes surprized to find so many extravagant fancies as are cut on the old Pagan tombs. Masks, hunting-matches, and bacchanals are very common; sometimes one meets with a lewd figure of a *Priapus*, and in the *Villa Pamphilia* is seen a Satyr coupling with a Goat. There are however many of a more serious nature, that shadow out the existence of the Soul after death, and the hopes of a happy immortality. I cannot[4]

[1] attitudes] Aptitudes, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] who discover] that find, 1705.
[4] cannot] can't, 1705.

leave the *Basso Relievo's* without mentioning one of them,[1] where the thought is extremely noble. It is called *Homer's Apotheosis*, and consists of a groupe of figures cut in the same block of marble, and rising one above another by four or five different ascents. *Jupiter* sits at the top of it with a thunderbolt in his hand, and, in such a majesty as *Homer* himself represents him, presides over the ceremony.

Εὗρον δ' εὐρύοπα χρονίδην[2] ἄτερ ἥμενον ἄλλων
Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο.

Immediately beneath him are the figures of the nine Muses, supposed to be celebrating the praises of the Poet. *Homer* himself is placed at one end of the lowest row, sitting in a chair of state, which[3] is supported on each side by the figure of a kneeling woman. The one holds a sword in her hand to represent the *Iliad*, or actions of *Achilles*, as the other has an *Aplustre* to represent the *Odyssy*, or voyage of *Ulysses*. About the Poet's feet are creeping a couple of Mice, as an emblem of the *Batrachomyomachia*. Behind the chair stands Time, and the Genius of the Earth, distinguished by their proper Attributes, and putting a garland on the Poet's head, to intimate the mighty reputation he[4] has gained in all ages and in all nations of the world. Before him stands an Altar with a bull ready to be sacrificed to the new God, and behind the victim a train of the several Virtues that are represented in *Homer's* works, or to be learnt out of them,[1] lifting up their hands in admiration of the Poet, and in applause of the solemnity. This antique piece of sculpture is in the possession of the Constable *Colonna*, but never shown to those who[5] see the Palace, unless they particularly desire it.

Among the great variety of ancient coins which[3] I saw at *Rome*, I could not but take particular notice of such as relate to any of the buildings or statues that are still extant. Those of the first kind have been already published by the

[1] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[2] χρονίδην] κρονίδην, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] he] that he, 1705.
[5] who] that, 1705.

writers of the *Roman* Antiquities, and may be most of them [1] met with in the last edition of *Donatus*, as the pillars of *Trajan* and *Antonine*, the arches of *Drusus Germanicus*, and *Septimius Severus*, the Temples of *Janus*, *Concord*, *Vesta*, *Jupiter tonans*, *Apollo* and *Faustina*, the *Circus Maximus*, *Agonalis*, and that of *Caracalla*, or, according to *Fabretti*, of *Galienus*, of *Vespasian*'s Amphitheater, and *Alexander Severus*'s Baths; though, I must confess, the subject of the last may be very well doubted of. As for [2] the *Meta sudans* and *Pons Ælius*, which have gained a place among the buildings that are now standing, and to be met with on old reverses of Medals; the coin that shows the first is generally rejected as spurious; nor is the other, though cited in the last edition of Monsieur *Vaillant*, esteemed more authentick by the present *Roman* Medalists, who are certainly the most skilful in the world, as to the mechanical part of this science. I shall close up this set of Medals with a very curious one, as large as a Medalion, that is singular in its kind. On one side is the head of the Emperor *Trajan*, the reverse has on it the *Circus Maximus*, and a view of the [3] side of the *Palatine* mountain that faces it, on which are seen several edifices, and among the rest the famous Temple of *Apollo*, that has still a considerable ruine standing. This Medal I saw in the hands of Monseigneur *Strozzi*, brother to the Duke of that name, who has many curiosities in his possession, and is very obliging to a stranger, who [4] desires the sight of them.[5] It is a surprising thing, that among the great pieces of Architecture represented [6] on the old coins, one can never meet with the *Pantheon*, the *Mausolæum* of *Augustus*, *Nero*'s golden house, the *Moles Adriani*, the *Septizonium* of *Severus*, the Baths of *Dioclesian*, &c. But since it was the custom of the *Roman* Emperors thus to register their most remarkable buildings, as well as actions, and since there are several in either of these kinds [7] not to be found on Medals, more extraordinary than those that are: we may, I think, with great reason suspect our

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] As for] For, 1705. [3] the] that, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705. [5] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[6] represented] that are represented, 1705.
[7] in . . . kinds] of these in either kind, 1705.

collections of old coins to be extremely deficient, and that those which are already found out scarce bear a proportion to what are yet undiscovered. A man takes a great deal more pleasure in surveying the ancient Statues, who compares them with Medals, than it is possible for him to do without some little knowledge this way; for these two arts illustrate each other; and as there are several particulars in History and Antiquities which[1] receive a great light from ancient coins, so would it be impossible to decipher the Faces of the many statues that are to be seen at *Rome*, without so universal a key to them.[2] It is this that teaches to distinguish the Kings and Consuls, Emperors and Emperesses, the Deities and Virtues, with a thousand other particulars relating to statuary, and not[3] to be learnt by any other means. In the *Villa Pamphilia* stands the statue of a man in woman's cloaths, which the Antiquaries do not[4] know what to make of, and therefore pass it off for an *Hermaphrodite*; but a learned Medallist in *Rome* has lately fixed it to *Clodius*, who is so famous for having intruded into the solemnities of the *Bona Dea* in a woman's habit, for one sees the same features and make of face in a Medal of the *Clodian* family.

I have seen on coins the four finest figures perhaps that are now extant: The *Hercules Farnese*, the *Venus* of *Medicis*, the *Apollo* in the *Belvidere*, and the famous *Marcus Aurelius* on horseback. The oldest Medal that the first appears upon is one of *Commodus*, the second on one of *Faustina*, the third on one of *Antoninus Pius*, and the last on one of *Lucius Verus*. We may conclude, I think, from hence, that these Statues were extremely celebrated among the old *Romans*, or they would never have been honoured with a place among the Emperor's coins. We may further observe, that all four of them[5] make their first appearance in the *Antonine* family, for which reason I am apt to think they are all of them[2] the product of that age. They would probably have been mentioned by *Pliny* the Naturalist, who lived in the next reign save one before *Antoninus Pius*, had they been made in his time. As for

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] and not] that are not, 1705.
[4] do not] don't, 1705. [5] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.

the brazen figure of *Marcus Aurelius* on horseback, there is no doubt of its being of this age, though I must confess it may be doubted, whether the Medal I[1] have cited represents it. All I can say for it is, that the horse and man on the Medal are in the same posture as they are on the statue, and that there is a resemblance of *Marcus Aurelius*'s face, for I have seen this reverse on a Medalion of *Don Livio*'s cabinet, and much more distinctly in another very beautiful one, that is in the hands of Signior *Marc. Antonio.* It is generally objected, that *Lucius Verus* would rather have placed the figure of himself on horseback upon[2] the reverse of his own coin, than the figure of *Marcus Aurelius.* But it is very well known that an Emperor often stamped on his coins the face or ornaments of his collegue, as an instance of his respect or friendship for him; and we may suppose *Lucius Verus* would omit no opportunity of doing honour to *Marcus Aurelius,* whom he rather revered as his father, than treated[3] as his partner in the Empire. The famous *Antinous* in the *Belvidere* must have been made too about this age, for he dyed towards the middle of *Adrian*'s reign, the immediate predecessor of *Antoninus Pius.* This entire figure, though not to be found in Medals, may be seen in several precious stones. Monsieur *La Chausse,* the Author of the *Musæum Romanum,* showed me an *Antinous* that he has published in his last volume, cut in a *Cornelian,* which he values at fifty pistoles. It represents him in the habit of a *Mercury,* and is the finest *Intaglia* that I ever saw.

Next to the statues, there is nothing in *Rome* more surprising than that amazing variety of ancient Pillars of so many kinds of marble. As most of the old statues may be well supposed to have been cheaper to their first owners, than they are to a modern purchaser, several of the pillars are certainly rated at a much lower price at present than they were of old.[4] For not to mention what a huge column of *Granite, Serpentine,* or *Porphyry,* must have cost in the quarry, or in its carriage from *Egypt* to *Rome,* we may[5] only consider the great difficulty of

[1] I] that I, 1705. [2] upon] on, 1705. [3] treated] look'd upon, 1705.
[4] of old] formerly, 1705. [5] we may] one need, 1705.

hewing it into any form, and of giving it the due turn, proportion, and polish. It is well known how these sorts of marble resist the impressions of such instruments as are now in use. There is indeed a *Milanese* at *Rome* who works in them,[1] but his advances are so very slow, that he scarce lives upon what he gains by it. He showed me a piece of *Porphyry* worked into an ordinary salver, which had cost him four months continual application, before he could bring it into that Form. The ancients had probably some secret to harden the edges of their tools, without recurring to those extravagant opinions of their having an art to mollifie the stone, or that it was naturally softer at its first cutting from the rock, or what is still more absurd, that it was an artificial composition, and not the natural product of Mines and Quarries. The most valuable pillars about *Rome*, for the marble of which they are made, are the four columns of oriental Jasper in St. *Paulina*'s chappel at St. *Maria Maggiore*; two of oriental Granite in St. *Pudenziana*; one of transparent oriental Jasper in the *Vatican* library; four of *Nero-Bianco* in St. *Cecilia Trans-tevere*; two of *Brocatello*, and two of oriental Agate in Don *Livio*'s palace; two of *Giallo Antico* in St. *John Lateran*, and two of *Verdi Antique* in the *Villa Pamphilia*. These are all intire and solid pillars, and made of such kinds of marble as are no where to be found but among antiquities, whether it be that the veins of it are undiscovered, or that they were quite exhausted upon the ancient buildings. Among these old pillars I cannot[2] forbear reckoning a great part of an alabaster[3] column, which[4] was found in the ruines of *Livia*'s *Portico*. It is of the colour of fire, and may be seen over the high altar of St. *Maria* in *Campitello*, for they have cut it into two pieces, and fixed it in the shape of a cross in a hole of the wall that was made on purpose to receive it; so that the light passing through it from without, makes it look, to those who[5] are in the church, like a huge transparent cross of amber. As for the workmanship of the old *Roman* pillars, Monsieur *Desgodetz*, in his accurate measures of

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] cannot] can't, 1705.
[3] alabaster] Alablaster, 1705. [4] which] that, 1705. [5] who] that, 1705.

these ruines, has observed, that the ancients have not kept to the nicety of proportion, and the rules of art, so much as the moderns in this particular. Some, to excuse this defect, lay the blame of it on the workmen of *Ægypt*, and of other nations, who [1] sent most of the ancient pillars ready shaped to *Rome*: Others say that the Ancients, knowing Architecture was chiefly designed to please the eye, only took care to avoid such disproportions as were gross enough to be observed by the sight, without minding whether or no they approached to a mathematical exactness: Others will have it rather to be an effect of art, and of what the *Italians* call the *Gusto grande*, than of any negligence in the Architect; for they say the Ancients always considered the situation of a building, whether it were high or low, in an open square or in a narrow street, and more or less deviated from their rules of art, to comply with the several distances and elevations from which their works were to be regarded. It is said there is an *Ionic* pillar in the *Santa Maria Trans-tevere*, where the marks of the compass are still to be seen on the volute, and that *Palladio* learnt from hence the working of that difficult problem; but I never could find time to examine all the old columns of that church. Among the pillars I must not pass over the two noblest in the world, those of *Trajan* and *Antonine*. There could not have been a more magnificent design than that of *Trajan*'s pillar. Where could an Emperor's ashes have been so nobly lodged, as in the midst of his metropolis, and on the top of so exalted a monument, with the greatest of his actions underneath him? Or, as some will have it, his statue was on the top, his urn at the foundation, and his battles in the midst. The sculpture of it is too well known to be here mentioned. The most remarkable piece in *Antonine*'s pillar is the figure of *Jupiter Pluvius*, sending down rain on the fainting army of *Marcus Aurelius*, and thunderbolts on his enemies, which is the greatest confirmation possible of the story of the Christian [2] Legion, and will be a standing evidence for it, when any passage in an old Author may be supposed to be forged. The figure that *Jupiter* here makes among

[1] who] that, 1705. [2] Christian] Thundering, 1705.

the clouds, puts me in mind of a passage in the *Æneid*, which [1] gives just such another image of him. *Virgil*'s interpreters are certainly to blame, that suppose it is nothing but the air which is here meant by *Jupiter*.

Quantus ab occasu veniens pluvialibus hædis
Verberat imber humum, quàm multâ grandine nimbi
In vada præcipitant, quum Jupiter horridas austris
Torquet aquosam hyemem, et cælo cava nubila rumpit. Æn. 9.

The combat thickens, like the storm that flies
From westward, when the show'ry Kids arise:
Or patt'ring hail comes pouring on the main,
When *Jupiter* descends in harden'd rain,
Or bellowing clouds burst with a stormy sound,
And with an armed winter strew the ground. *Dryden.*

I have seen a Medal that, according to the opinion of many learned men, relates to the same story. The Emperor is entitled on it *Germanicus*, (as it was in the wars of *Germany* that this circumstance happened) and carries on the reverse a thunderbolt in his hand; for the Heathens attributed the same miracle to the piety of the Emperor, that the Christians ascribed to the prayers of their Legion.[2] *Fulmen de cœlo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum Marcus extorsit, suis pluviâ impetratâ cùm siti laborarent.* Jul. Capit.

Claudian takes notice of this miracle, and has given the same reason for it.

——————*Ad templa vocatus,*
Clemens Marce, redis, cum gentibus undique cinctam
Exuit Hesperiam paribus fortuna periclis.
Laus ibi nulla ducum, nam flammeus imber in hostem
Decidit: hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat
Ambustus sonipes; hic tabescente solutus
Subsedit galeâ, liquefactaque fulgure cuspis
Canduit, et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] their Legion.] the Thundering Legion, 1705.

Tunc, contenta polo, mortalis nescia teli
Pugna fuit; Chaldæa mago seu carmina ritu
Armavere Deos; seu, quod reor, omne tonantis
Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri. De Sexto Cons. Hon.

So mild *Aurelius* to the Gods repaid
The grateful vows that in his fears he made,
When *Latium* from unnumber'd foes was freed:
Nor did he Then by his own force succeed;
But with descending show'rs of brimstone fir'd,
The wild Barbarian in the storm expir'd.
Wrapt in devouring flames the horse-man rag'd,
And spurr'd the steed in equal flames engag'd:
Another pent in his scorch'd armour glow'd,
While from his head the melting helmet flow'd;
Swords by the lightning's subtile force distill'd,
And the cold sheath with running metal fill'd:
No human arm its weak assistance brought,
But Heav'n, offended Heav'n, the battel fought;
Whether dark magick and *Chaldean* charms
Had fill'd the skies, and set the Gods in arms;
Or good *Aurelius* (as I more believe)
Deserv'd whatever aid the Thunderer could give.

[1] I do not remember that M. *Dacier*, among several quotations on this subject, in the life of *Marcus Aurelius*, has taken notice, either of the forementioned figure on the pillar of *Marcus Antoninus*, or of the beautiful passage I have quoted out of *Claudian*.[1]

It is pity the Obelisks in *Rome* had not been charged with several parts of the *Egyptian* histories instead of hierogliphics, which might have given no small light to the antiquities of that nation, which are now quite sunk out of sight in those remoter ages of the world. Among the triumphal arches, that of *Constantine* is not only the noblest of any in *Rome*, but in the world. I searched narrowly into it, especially among those additions of sculpture made [2] in the Emperor's own age, to see if I could find any

[1] I do not . . . *Claudian*.] Not in 1705.
[2] made] that were made, 1705.

marks of the apparition, that is said to have preceded the very victory which gave occasion to the triumphal arch. But there are not the least traces of it to be met with, which is not very strange, if we consider that the greatest part of the ornaments were taken from *Trajan*'s arch, and set up to the new conqueror in no small haste, by the senate and people of *Rome*, who were then most of them [1] Heathens. There is however something in the inscription, which is as old as the arch it self, which [2] seems to hint at the Emperor's vision.[3] *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Constantino maximo P. F. Augusto S. P. Q. R. quod* instinctu Divinitatis *mentis magnitudine cum exercitu suo tam de Tyranno quàm de omni ejus factione uno tempore justis Rempublicam ultus est armis arcum triumphis insignem dicavit.* There is no statue of this Emperor at *Rome* with a cross to it, though the Ecclesiastical Historians say there were many such erected to him. I have seen of his Medals that were stamped with it, and a very remarkable one of his son *Constantius*, where he is crown'd by a Victory on the reverse with this inscription, *In hoc Signo Victor eris* ☧. This triumphal arch, and some other buildings of the same age, show us that Architecture held up its head after all the other arts of designing were in a very weak and languishing condition, as it was probably the first among them [1] that revived. If I was surprized not to find the Cross in *Constantine*'s arch, I was as much disappointed not to see the figure of the temple of *Jerusalem* on that of *Titus*, where are represented the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the river *Jordan*. Some are of opinion, that the composite pillars of this arch were made in imitation of the pillars of *Solomon*'s temple, and observe that these are the most ancient of any that are found of that order.

It is almost impossible for a man to form, in his imagination, such beautiful and glorious scenes, as are to be met with in several of the *Roman* Churches and Chappels; for having such a prodigious stock of ancient marble within the very city, and at the same time so many different quarries in the bowels of their country, most of their chapels

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705, 1718.

[3] vision.] Vision, and which no Body has taken notice of on this Account, 1705.

are laid over with such a rich variety of incrustations, as cannot[1] possibly be found in any other part of the world. And notwithstanding the incredible sums of mony which[2] have been already laid[3] out this way, there is still the same work going forward in other parts of *Rome*, the last still endeavouring to outshine those that went before them.[4] Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, are at present far from being in a flourishing condition, but it is[5] thought they may all recover themselves under the present Pontificate, if the wars and confusions of *Italy* will give them[4] leave. For as the Pope is himself a master of polite learning, and a great encourager of Arts, so at *Rome* any of these Arts immediately thrives under the encouragement of the Prince, and may be fetched up to its perfection in ten or a dozen years, which is the work of an age or two in other countries, where they have not such excellent models to form themselves upon.

I shall conclude my observations on *Rome*, with a Letter of King *Henry* the eighth to *Ann* of *Bulleyn*, transcribed out of the famous Manuscript in the Vatican, which the Bishop of *Salisbury* assures us is written with the King's own hand.

" The cause of my writing at this time is to hear of your " health and prosperity, of which I would be as glad as in " manner of my own, praying God that it be his pleasure " to send us shortly together, for I promise I long for it ; " howbeit I trust it shall not be long too, and seeing my " darling is absent I can no less do than send her some " flesh, prognosticating that hereafter thou must have " some of mine, which, if he please, I would have now. " As touching your Sister's Mother, I have consigned " *Walter Welsh* to write to my Lord *Manwring* my mind " therein, whereby I trust he shall not have power to " disseid her ; for surely, whatever is said, it cannot so " stand with his honour, but that he must needs take his " natural Daughter in her extreme necessity. No more to " you at this time, my own darling, but that with a whistle

[1] cannot] can't, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705.
[3] laid] lain, 1705. [4] them] 'em, 1705. [5] it is] 'tis, 1705, 1718.

"I wish we were together one evening; by the hand of
"yours,

HENRY.

These letters are always shown to an *Englishman* that visits the *Vatican* Library.

Towns within the Neighbourhood of Rome.

I SPENT three or four days on *Tivoli*, *Frescati*, *Palestrina*, and *Albano*. In our[1] way to *Tivoli* I saw the Rivulet of *Salforata*, formerly called *Albula*, and smelt the stench that arises from its waters some time before I saw them.[2] *Martial* mentions this offensive smell in an Epigram of the fourth book, as he does the Rivulet it self in the first.

Quod siccæ redolet lacus lacunæ,
Crudarum nebulæ quod Albularum. L. 4. Ep. 4.

The drying Marshes such a stench convey,
Such the rank steams of reeking *Albula.*

Itur ad Herculeæ gelidas quà Tiburis arces,
Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis. L. 1. Ep. 5.

As from high *Rome* to *Tivoli* you go,
Where *Albula*'s sulphureous waters flow.

The little Lake that gives rise to this river, with its floating Islands, is one of the most extraordinary natural Curiosities about *Rome*. It lyes in the very flat of *Campania*,[3] and as it is the drain of these parts, 'tis no wonder that it is so impregnated with Sulphur. It has at bottom so thick a sediment of it, that upon throwing in a

[1] In our] On the, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] *Campania*] the *Campania*, 1705.

stone the water boils for a considerable time over the place which [1] has been stirred up. At the same time are seen little flakes of scurfe rising up, that are probably the parts which compose the Islands, for they often mount of themselves, though the water is not troubled.

I question not but this Lake was formerly much larger than it is at present, and that the banks have grown over it by degrees, in the same manner as the Islands have been formed on it. Nor is it improbable but that, in process of time, the whole surface of it may be crusted over, as the Islands enlarge themselves, and the banks close in upon them.[2] All about the Lake, where the ground is dry, we found it to be hollow by the trampling of our horses feet. I could not discover the least traces of the *Sibyls* Temple and Grove, which [1] stood on the borders of this Lake. *Tivoli* is seen at a distance lying along the [3] brow of a hill. Its situation has given *Horace* occasion to call it *Tibur Supinum*, as *Virgil* perhaps for the same reason entitles it *Superbum*. The *Villa de Medicis* with its water-works, the Cascade of the *Teverone*, and the Ruines of the *Sibyls* temple (of which *Vignola* has made a little copy at *Peters* [4] *de Montorio*) are described in every Itinerary. I must confess I was most pleased with a beautiful prospect that none of them [2] have mentioned, which lyes at about a mile distance from the town. It opens on one side into the *Roman Campania*, where the eye loses it self on a smooth spacious plain. On the other side is a more broken and interrupted Scene, made up of an infinite variety of inequalities and shadowings, that naturally arise from an agreeable mixture of hills, groves and vallies. But the most enlivening part of all is the river *Teverone*, which you see at about a quarter of a mile's distance throwing it self down a precipice, and falling by several Cascades from one rock to another, 'till it gains the bottom of the valley, where the sight of it would be quite lost, did not it sometimes discover it self through the breaks and openings [5] of the woods that grow about it. The *Roman* Painters often work upon this Landskip, and I am apt to believe

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] along the] along on the, 1705.
[4] *Peters*] St. *Peters*, 1705.
[5] openings] Inter-stices, 1705.

that *Horace* had his eye upon it in those two or three beautiful touches which[1] he has given us of these seats. The *Teverone* was formerly called the *Anio*.

Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon,
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam[2] *domus Albuneæ resonantis,*
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lacus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis. L. 1. O. 7.

Not fair *Larissa*'s fruitful shore,
Nor *Lacedæmon* charms me more,
Than high *Albunea*'s airy walls
Resounding with her water-falls,
And *Tivoli*'s delightful shades,
And *Anio* rolling in cascades,
That through the flow'ry meadows glides,
And all the beauteous scene divides.

I remember Monsieur *Dacier* explains *mobilibus* by *ductilibus*, and believes that the word relates to the Conduits, Pipes and Canals that were made to distribute the waters up and down, according to the pleasure of the owner. But any one who[3] sees the *Teverone* must be of another opinion, and conclude it to be one of the most *moveable* rivers in the world, that has its stream broken by such a multitude of Cascades, and is so often shifted out of one channel into another. After a very turbulent and noisie course of several miles among the rocks and mountains, the *Teverone* falls into the valley before-mentioned, where it recovers its temper, as it were, by little and little, and after many turns and windings glides peaceably into the *Tiber*. In which sense we are to understand *Silius Italicus*'s description, to give it its proper beauty.

Sulphureis gelidus quà serpit leniter undis,
Ad genitorem Anio labens sine murmure Tibrim.

Here the loud *Anio*'s boist'rous clamours cease,
That with submissive murmurs glides in peace
To his old sire the *Tiber*———

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] *Quam*] *Quàm*, 1705. [3] who] that, 1705.

At *Frescati* I had the satisfaction of seeing the first sketch of *Versailles* in the walks and water-works. The prospect from it was doubtless much more delightful formerly, when the *Campania* was set thick with towns, villas and plantations. *Cicero*'s *Tusculum* was at a place called *Grotto Ferrate*, about two miles off this town, though most of the modern writers have fixed it to *Frescati*. *Nardini* says, there was found among the ruines at *Grotto Ferrate* a piece of sculpture which [1] *Cicero* himself mentions in one of his familiar Epistles. In going to *Frescati* we had a fair view of mount *Algido*.

On our way to *Palæstrina* we saw the lake *Regillus*, famous for the Apparition of *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were here seen to give their horses drink after the battel between the *Romans* and the Son-in-law of *Tarquin*. At some distance from it we had a view of the *Lacus Gabinus*, that is much larger than the former. We left the road for about half a mile to see the sources of a modern Aqueduct. It is entertaining to observe how the several little springs and rills, that break out of the sides of the mountain, are gleaned up, and conveyed through little covered channels into the main hollow of the Aqueduct. It was certainly very lucky for *Rome*, seeing it had occasion for so many Aqueducts, that there chanced to be such a range of mountains within its neighbourhood. For by this means they could take up their water from what height they pleased, without the expence of such an engine as that of [2] *Marli*. Thus the *Claudian* Aqueduct ran thirty eight miles, and sunk after the proportion of five foot and a half every mile, by the advantage only of a high source and the low situation of *Rome*. *Palæstrina* stands very high, like most other towns in *Italy*, for the advantage of the cool breezes, for which reason *Virgil* calls it *altum*, and *Horace*, *frigidum Præneste*. *Statius* calls it *Præneste sacrum*, because of the famous temple of Fortune that stood in it. There are still great pillars of Granite, and other fragments of this ancient temple. But the most considerable remnant of it is a very beautiful *Mosaic* pavement, the finest I [3] have ever seen in Marble. The parts are so well joined together,

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] of] at, 1705. [3] I] that I, 1705.

that the whole piece looks like a continued picture. There are in it the figures of a Rhinoceros, of Elephants, and of several other animals, with little landskips which look very lively and well painted, though they are made out of the natural colours and shadows of the marble. I do not[1] remember ever to have met with an[2] old *Roman Mosaic*, composed of little pieces of clay half vitrified, and prepared at the glass-houses, which the *Italians* call *Smalte*. These are much in use at present, and may be made of what colour and figure the work-man pleases, which is a modern improvement of the art, and enables those who[3] are employed in it to make much finer pieces of *Mosaic* than they did formerly.

In our excursion to *Albano* we went as far as *Nemi*, that takes its name from the *Nemus Dianæ*. The whole country thereabouts is still overrun with woods and thickets. The Lake of *Nemi* lyes in a very deep bottom, so surrounded on all sides with mountains and groves, that the surface of it is never ruffled with the least breath of wind, which perhaps, together with the clearness of its waters, gave it formerly the name of *Diana*'s looking-glass.

———*Speculumque Dianæ.* Virg.

Prince *Cæsarini* has a palace at *Jensano*, very near *Nemi*, in a pleasant situation, and set off with many beautiful walks. In our return from *Jensano* to *Albano* we passed through *la Ricca*, the *Aricia* of the ancients, *Horace*'s first stage from *Rome* to *Brundisi*. There is nothing at *Albano* so remarkable as the prospect from the *Capucin*'s garden, which for the extent and variety of pleasing incidents is, I think, the most delightful one[4] that I ever saw. It takes in the whole *Campania*, and terminates in a full view of the Mediterranean. You have a sight at the same time of the *Alban* lake, which[5] lyes just by in an oval figure of about seven miles round, and, by reason of the continued circuit of high mountains that encompass it, looks like the *Area* of some vast Amphitheater. This, together with the several green hills and

[1] do not] don't, 1705. [2] an] any, 1705, 1718. [3] who] that, 1705.
[4] delightful one] charming, 1705. [5] which] that, 1705.

naked rocks within [1] the neighbourhood, makes the most agreeable confusion imaginable. *Albano* keeps up its credit still for Wine, which perhaps would be as good as it was anciently, did they preserve it to as great an age; but as for Olives there are now very few here, though they are in great plenty at *Tivoli*.

——*Albani pretiosa senectus.* Juv. Sat. 13.
Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cujus patriam titulumque senectus
Delevit multâ veteris fuligine testæ. Id. Sat. 5.

Perhaps to-morrow he may change his wine,
And drink old sparkling *Alban*, or *Setine*.
Whose title, and whose age, with mould o'er-grown,
The good old cask for ever keeps unknown. Mr. *Bowles*.

——*Palladiæ seu collibus uteris Albæ.* Mar. L. 5. E. 1.
Albanæ——*Olivæ.* Id. L. 9. E.[2] 16.

The places mentioned in this chapter were all of them [3] formerly the cool retirements of the *Romans*, where they used to hide themselves among the woods and mountains, during the excessive heats of their summer; as *Bajæ* was the general winter rendezvous.

Jam terras volucremque polum fuga veris aquosi
Laxat, et Icariis cælum latratibus urit.
Ardua jam densæ rarescunt mœnia Romæ:
Hos Præneste sacrum, nemus hos glaciale Dianæ,
Algidus aut horrens, aut Tuscula protegit Umbra,
Tiburis hi lucos, Anienaque frigora captant. Sil. 4. 1.

Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles
Et quodcunque jacet sub urbe frigus.
Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras,
Et quod Virgineo cruore gaudet
Annæ pomiferum nemus Perennæ. Mar.[4] L. 1. E. 123.

All shun the raging Dog-star's sultry heat,
And from the half-unpeopled town retreat:

[1] within] that lye within, 1705.
[2] E.] Ep., 1705, 1718.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] Mar.] M., 1705, 1718.

Some hid in *Nemi*'s gloomy forests lye,
To *Palestrina* some for shelter fly;
Others to catch the breeze of breathing air,
To *Tusculum* or *Algido* repair;
Or in moist *Tivoli*'s retirements find
A cooling shade, and a refreshing wind.

On the contrary, at present, *Rome* is never fuller of Nobility than in summer time; for the country towns are so infested with unwholsome vapours, that they dare not trust themselves in them [1] while the heats last. There is no question but the air of the *Campania* would be now as healthful as it was formerly, were there as many fires burning in it, and as many Inhabitants to manure the soil. Leaving *Rome* about the latter end of *October*, in my way to *Sienna*, I lay the first night at a little village in the territories of the ancient *Veii*.

Hæc tum nomina erant, nunc sunt sine nomine Campi.

The ruines of their capital city are at present so far lost, that the Geographers are not able to determine exactly the place where they once stood: So literally is that noble [2] prophecy of *Lucan* fulfilled, of this and other places of *Latium*.

——Gentes Mars iste futuras
Obruet, et populos ævi venientis in orbem
Erepto natale feret, tunc omne Latinum
Fabula nomen erit: Gabios, Veïosque, Coramque,
Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ,
Albanosque lares, Laurentinosque penates
Rus vacuum, quod non habitet nisi nocte coactâ
Invitus—————— L. 7.

Succeeding nations by the sword shall die,
And swallow'd up in dark oblivion lye;
Almighty *Latium* with her cities crown'd,
Shall like an antiquated fable sound;
The *Veïan* and the *Gabian* tow'rs shall fall,
And one promiscuous ruine cover all,

[1] them]'em, 1705. [2] noble] beautiful, 1705.

Nor, after length of years, a stone betray
The place where once the very ruines lay:
High *Alba*'s walls, and the *Lavinian* strand,
(A lonely desart, and an empty land)
Shall scarce afford, for needful hours of rest,
A single house to their benighted guest.

We here saw the Lake *Bacca*, that gives rise to the *Cremera*, on whose banks the *Fabii* were slain.[1]

Tercentum numerabat avos, quos turbine Martis,
Abstulit una dies, cùm fors non æqua labori
Patricio Cremeræ maculavit sanguine ripas. Sil. It. L. 1.

Fabius a num'rous ancestry could tell,
Three hundred Heroes that in battel fell,
Near the fam'd *Cremera*'s disast'rous flood,
That ran polluted with Patrician blood.

We saw afterwards, in the progress of our voyage, the Lakes of *Vico* and *Bolsena*. The last is reckoned one and twenty miles in circuit, and is plentifully stocked with fish and fowl. There are in it a couple of Islands, that are perhaps the two floating Isles mentioned by *Pliny*, with that improbable circumstance of their appearing sometimes like a circle, sometimes[2] like a triangle, but never like a quadrangle. It is easie enough to conceive how they might become fixed, though they once floated; and it is not very credible, that the Naturalist could be deceived in his account of a place that lay, as it were, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. At one end of this Lake stands *Montefiascone*, the habitation of *Virgil*'s *Æqui Falisci*, Æn. 7. and on the side of it the town of the *Volsinians*, now called *Bolsena*.

Aut positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis. Juv. Sat. 3.

———*Volsinium* stood
Cover'd with mountains, and enclos'd with wood.

I saw in the church-yard of *Bolsena* an antique funeral monument (of that kind which they called a *Sarcophagus*) very entire, and what is particular, engraven *on all sides*

[1] were slain] fell, 1705.
[2] circle, sometimes] circle, and sometimes, 1705, 1718.

with a curious representation of a Bacchanal. Had the Inhabitants observed a couple of lewd figures at one end of it, they would not have thought it a proper ornament for the place where it now stands. After having travelled hence to *Aquapendente*, that stands in a wonderful pleasant situation, we came to the little Brook which[1] separates the Pope's dominions from the Great Duke's. The frontier castle of *Radicofani* is seated on the highest mountain in the country, and is as well fortifyed as the situation of the place will permit. We here found the natural face of the country quite changed from what we had been entertained with in the Pope's dominions. For instead of the many beautiful scenes of green mountains and fruitful vallies, that we had been presented with for some days before, we saw now nothing but a wild naked prospect of rocks and hills, worn on all sides with gutters and channels, and not a tree or shrub to be met with in a vast circuit of several miles. This savage prospect put me in mind of the *Italian* proverb, that *The Pope has the flesh, and the Great Duke the bones of* Italy. Among a large extent of these barren mountains I saw but a single spot that was cultivated, on which there stood a Convent.

SIENNA, LEGHORNE, PISA.

SIENNA stands high, and is adorned with a great many towers of brick, which[1] in the time of the common-wealth were erected to such of the members as had done any considerable service to their country. These towers gave us a sight of the town a great while before we entered it. There is nothing in this city so extraordinary as the Cathedral, which a man may view with pleasure after he has seen St. *Peters*, though it is[2] quite of another make, and can only be looked upon as one of the master-

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] it is] 'tis, 1705, 1718.

pi[e]ces of *Gothic* Architecture. When a man sees the prodigious pains and expence, that our fore-fathers have been at in these barbarous buildings, one cannot [1] but fancy to himself what miracles of Architecture they would have left us, had they been only [2] instructed in the right way; for when the devotion of those ages was much warmer than that of the [3] present, and the riches of the people much more at the disposal of the Priests, there was so much mony consumed on these *Gothic* Cathedrals, as would have finished a greater variety of noble buildings, than have been raised either before or since that time.

One would wonder to see the vast labour that has been laid out on this single Cathedral. The very spouts are loaden with ornaments; the windows are formed like so many scenes of perspective, with a multitude of little pillars retiring one behind another; the great columns are finely engraven with fruits and foliage that run twisting about them [4] from the very top to the bottom; the whole body of the church is chequered with different lays of white and black marble; the pavement curiously cut out in designs and Scripture-stories; and the front covered with such a variety of figures, and over-run with so many little mazes and labyrinths of Sculpture; that nothing in the world can make a prettier show to those who [5] prefer false beauties, and affected ornaments, to a noble and majestick simplicity. Over-against this church stands a large Hospital, erected by a Shooe-maker who [5] has been Beatified, though never Sainted. There stands a figure of him superscribed, *Sutor ultra Crepidam.* I shall speak nothing of the extent of this city, the cleanliness of its streets, nor the beauty of its piazza, which so many travellers have described. As this is the last Republick that fell under the subjection of the Duke of *Florence*, so is it still supposed to retain many hankerings after its ancient liberty: For this reason, when the Keys and Pageants of the Duke's towns and governments pass in procession before him, on St. *John* Baptist's day, I was told

[1] cannot] can't, 1705.
[2] been only] only been, 1705, 1718.
[3] that of the] it is at, 1705, 1718.
[4] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[5] who] that, 1705.

that *Sienna* comes in the rear of his dominions, and is pushed forward by those who [1] follow, to show the reluctancy it has to appear in such a solemnity. I shall say nothing of the many gross and absurd traditions of St. *Catharine* of *Sienna* who is the great Saint of this place. I think there is as much pleasure in hearing a man tell his dreams, as in reading accounts of this nature: A traveller that thinks them [2] worth his observation, may fill a book with them [2] at every great town in *Italy*.

From *Sienna* we went forward to *Leghorne*, where the two Ports, the Bagnio, and *Donatelli*'s Statue of the Great Duke, amidst the four Slaves chained to his pedestal, are very noble sights. The Square is one of the largest, and will be one of the most beautiful [3] in *Italy*, when this statue is erected in it, and a town-house built at one end of it to front the church that stands at the other. They are at a continual expence to cleanse the ports, and keep them [4] from being choaked up, which they do by the help of several engines that are always at work, and employ many of the Great Duke's slaves. Whatever part of the harbour they scoop in, it has an influence on all the rest, for the sea immediately works the whole bottom to a level. They draw a double advantage from the dirt that is taken up, as it clears the port, and at the same time dries up several marshes about the town, where they lay it from time to time. One can scarce imagine how great profits the Duke of *Tuscany* receives from this single place, which are not generally thought so considerable, because it passes for a Free Port. But, [5] it is very well known how the Great Duke, on a late occasion, notwithstanding the privileges of the Merchants, drew no [5] small sums of mony out of them [2]; though still, in respect of the exorbitant dues that are paid at most other ports, it deservedly retains [6] the name of Free. It brings into his dominions a great increase of people from all other nations. They reckon in it near ten

[1] who] that, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] most beautiful] beautifullest, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[5] it is . . . no] notwithstanding the Name of a Free Port, it is very well known how the Great Duke has, of late Years, very much contracted the Privileges of the Merchants, and drawn no, 1705.
[6] deservedly retains] retains, 1705.

thousand *Jews*, many of them [1] very rich, and so great traffickers, that our *English* factors complain they have most of our country trade in their hands. 'Tis true the strangers pay little or no taxes directly, but out of every thing they buy there goes a large gabel to the government. The very Ice-merchant at *Leghorne* pays above a thousand pound sterling annually for his privilege, and the Tobacco-merchant ten thousand.[2] The Ground is sold by the Great Duke at a very high price, and houses are every day rising on it. All the commodities that go up into the country, of which there are great quantities, are clogged with impositions as soon as they leave *Leghorne*. All the Wines, Oils, and Silks, that come down from the fruitful vallies of *Pisa*, *Florence*, and other parts of *Tuscany*, must make their way through several duties and taxes before they can reach the port. The Canal that runs from the sea into the *Arno* gives a convenient carriage to all goods that are to be shipped off, which does not a little enrich the owners; and in proportion as private men grow wealthy, their legacies, law-suits, daughter's portions, &c. encrease, in all which the Great Duke comes in for a considerable share.[3] The *Lucquese*, who traffic at this port, are said to bring in a great deal into the Duke's coffers. Another advantage, which may be of great use to him, is, that at five or six days warning he might [4] find credit in this town for very large sums of money,[5] which no other Prince in *Italy* can pretend to. I need not take notice of the reputation that this port gives him among foreign Princes, but there is one benefit arising from it, which, though never thrown into the account, is doubtless very considerable. It is well-known how the *Pisans* and *Florentines* long regretted the loss of their ancient liberty, and their subjection to a family that some of them [6] thought themselves equal to, in the

[1] them] 'em, 1705.

[2] thousand.] Thousand, which is very considerable in a Country where there are so few Smoakers. 1705.

[3] a considerable share] his Share, 1705.

[4] might] may, 1705.

[5] very large sums of money] some Hundred Thousands of Pounds Sterling, 1705.

[6] some of them] many of 'em, 1705.

flourishing times of their Common-wealths. The town of *Leghorne* has accidentally done what the greatest fetch of Politicks would have found difficult to have brought about, for it has almost unpeopled *Pisa*, if we compare it with what it was formerly, and every day lessens the number of the Inhabitants of *Florence*. This does not only weaken those places, but at the same time turns many of the busiest spirits from their old notions of honour and liberty, to the thoughts of traffick and merchandise: And as men engaged in a road of thriving are no friends to changes and revolutions, they are at present worn into a habit of subjection, and push all their pursuits another way. It is no wonder therefore that the Great Duke has such apprehensions of the Pope's making *Civita Vecchia* a Free Port, which may in time prove so very prejudicial to *Leghorne*. It would be thought an improbable story, should I set down the several methods that are commonly reported to have been made use of during the last Pontificate, to put a stop to this design. The Great Duke's mony was so well bestowed in the Conclave, that several of the Cardinals dissuaded the Pope from the undertaking, and at last turned all his thoughts upon the little port which [1] he made at *Antium*, near *Nettuno*. The chief workmen that were to have conveyed the water to *Civita Vecchia* were bought off, and when a poor *Capucin*, who [2] was thought proof against all bribes, had undertaken to carry on the work, he dyed a little after he had entered upon it. The present Pope however, who is very well acquainted with the secret history, and the weakness of his predecessor, seems resolved to bring the project to its perfection. He has already been at vast charges in finishing the Aqueduct, and had some hopes that, if the war should drive [3] our *English* Merchants from *Sicily* and *Naples*, they would settle here. His Holiness has told some *English* Gentlemen, that those of our nation should have the greatest privileges of any but the subjects of the Church. One of our countrymen, who [4] makes a good figure at *Rome*, told me the Pope has this design extremely at his heart;

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] who] that, 1705, 1718.
[3] should drive] drove, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.

but that he fears the *English* will suffer nothing like a Resident or Consul in his dominions; though at the same time he hoped the business might as well be transacted by one that had no publick character. This Gentleman has so busied himself in the affair, that he has offended the *French* and *Spanish* Cardinals, insomuch that Cardinal *Janson* refused to see him when he would have made his apology for what he had said to the Pope on this subject. There is one great objection to *Civita Vecchia*, that the Air of the place is not wholsome; but this they say proceeds from want of Inhabitants, the air of *Leghorne* having been worse than this before the town was well peopled.

The great profits which [1] have accrued to the Duke of *Florence* from his Free Port have set several of the States of *Italy* on the same project. The most likely to succeed in it would be the *Genoese*, who [2] lye more convenient than the *Venetians*, and have a more inviting form of government than that of the Church, or that of *Florence*. But as the Port of *Genoa* is so very ill guarded against storms, that no privileges can tempt the merchants from *Leghorne* into it, so dare not the *Genoese* make any other of their ports Free, least it should draw to it most of their Commerce and Inhabitants, and by consequence ruine their chief city.

From *Leghorne* I went to *Pisa*, where there is still the Shell of a great City, though not half furnished with Inhabitants. The great Church, Baptistery, and leaning Tower, are very well worth seeing, and are built after the same fancy with the cathedral of *Sienna*. Half a day's journey more brought me into the Republick of *Lucca*.

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] who] that, 1705.

The REPUBLICK of *LUCCA.*

IT is very pleasant to see how the small territories of this little Republick are cultivated to the best advantage, so that one cannot[1] find the least spot of ground, that is not made to contribute its utmost to the owner. In all the Inhabitants there appears an air of chearfulness and plenty, not[2] often to be met with in those of the countries which[3] lye about them.[4] There is but one gate for Strangers to enter at, that it may be known what numbers of them[4] are in the town. Over it is written in letters of gold, *Libertas.*

This Republick is shut up in the Great Duke's dominions, who at present is very much incensed against it, and seems to threaten it with the fate of *Florence, Pisa* and *Sienna.* The occasion is as[5] follows.

The *Lucquese* plead prescription for hunting in one of the Duke's forests, that lyes upon their frontiers, which about two years since was strictly forbidden them,[4] the Prince intending to preserve the game for his own pleasure. Two or three Sportsmen of the Republick, who[6] had the hardiness to offend against the prohibition, were seized, and kept in a neighbouring prison. Their country-men, to the number of threescore, attacked the place where they were kept in custody, and rescued them.[4] The Great Duke redemands his prisoners, and, as a further satisfaction, would have the Governor of the town, where the threescore assailants had combined together, delivered into his hands; but receiving only excuses, he resolved to do himself justice. Accordingly he ordered all the *Lucquese* to be seized that were found on a market-day, in one of his frontier towns. These amounted to fourscore, among whom were persons of some consequence in the Republick. They are now in prison at *Florence,* and, as it is[7] said, treated hardly enough, for there are fifteen of the number dead

[1] cannot] can't, 1705. [2] not] that is not, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705. [4] them] 'em, 1705, 1718.
[5] is as] as, 1705, 1718. [6] who] that, 1705. [7] it is] 'tis, 1705.

within less than two years. The King of *Spain*, who is Protector of the Common-wealth, received information from the Great Duke of what had passed, and [1] approved of his proceedings, with orders to [2] the *Lucquese*, by his Governor of *Milan*, to give a proper satisfaction. The Republick, thinking themselves ill used by their Protector, as they say at *Florence*, have sent to Prince *Eugene* to desire the Emperor's protection, with an offer [3] of winter-quarters, as it is [4] said, for four thousand *Germans*. The Great Duke rises on them [5] in his demands, and will not be satisfied with less than a hundred thousand crowns, and a solemn ambassy to beg pardon for the past, and promise amendment for the future. Thus stands the affair at present, that may end in the ruine of the Common-wealth, if the *French* succeed in *Italy*. It is pleasant however to hear the discourse of the common people of *Lucca*, who are firmly persuaded that one *Lucquese* can beat five *Florentines*, who are grown low-spirited, as they pretend, by the Great Duke's oppressions, and have nothing worth fighting for. They say they can bring into the field twenty or thirty thousand fighting men, all ready to sacrifice their lives for their liberty. They have a good quantity [6] of arms and ammunition, but few horse. It must be owned these people are more happy, at least in imagination, than the rest of their neighbours, because they think themselves so; though such a chimerical happiness is not peculiar to Republicans, for we find the subjects of the most absolute Prince in *Europe* are as proud of their Monarch [7] as the *Lucquese* of being subject to none. Should the *French* affairs prosper in *Italy*, it is possible the Great Duke may bargain for the Republick of *Lucca*, by the help of his great treasures, as his Predecessors did formerly with the Emperor for that of *Sienna*. The Great Dukes have never yet attempted any thing on *Lucca*, as not only fearing the arms of their Protector, but because they are well assured that should the *Lucquese* be reduced to the last extremities,

[1] and] who, 1705, 1718.
[2] with orders to] and order'd, 1705, 1718.
[3] an offer] a Proffer, 1705.
[4] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[5] them] 'em, 1705.
[6] a good quantity] Quantity, 1705, 1718.
[7] Monarch] great Monarch, 1705.

they would rather throw themselves under the government of the *Genoese*, or some stronger neighbour, than submit to a State for which they have so great an aversion. And the *Florentines* are very sensible, that it is [1] much better to have [2] a weak State within their dominions, than the branch of one as strong as themselves. But should so formidable a power, as that of the *French* King, support them [3] in their attempts, there is no government in *Italy* that would dare to interpose. This Republick, for the extent of its dominions, is esteemed the richest and best peopled State of *Italy*. The whole administration of the government passes into different hands at the end of every two months, which is the greatest security imaginable to their liberty, and wonderfully contributes to the quick dispatch of all publick affairs: But in any exigence of state, like that they are now pressed with, it certainly asks a much longer time to conduct any design, for the good of the Common-wealth, to its maturity and perfection.

FLORENCE.

I HAD the good luck to be at *Florence* when there was an Opera acted, which was the eighth that I had seen in *Italy*. I could not but smile to read [4] the solemn protestation of the Poet in the first page, where he declares that he believes neither in the Fates, Deities, or Destinies; and that if he has made use of the words, it is purely out of a poetical liberty, and not from his real sentiments, for that in all these particulars he believes as the Holy Mother Church believes and commands.

PROTESTA.

Le voci Fato, Deità, Destino, e simili, che per entro questo Drama trovarai, son messe per ischerzo poetico, e non per sentimento vero, cre-

[1] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[2] to have] having, 1705, 1718.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] read] see, 1705.

dendo sempre in tutto quello, che crede, e comanda Santa Madre chiesa.

There are some beautiful Palaces in *Florence*; and[1] as *Tuscan* pillars and *Rustic* work owe their original to this country, the Architects always take care to give them[2] a place in the great Edifices that are raised in *Tuscany*. The Duke's new palace is a very noble pile, built after this manner, which makes it look extremely solid and majestick. It is not unlike that of *Luxemburg* at *Paris*, which was built by *Mary* of *Medicis*, and for that reason perhaps the workmen fell into the *Tuscan* humour. I found in the court of this palace what I could not meet with any where in *Rome*. I mean an antique Statue of *Hercules* lifting up *Antæus* from the earth, which I have already had occasion to speak of. It was found in *Rome*, and brought hither under the reign of *Leo* the tenth. There are abundance of pictures in the several apartments, by the hands of the greatest masters.

But 'tis the famous gallery of the old palace, where are[3] perhaps the noblest collections of curiosities to[4] be met with in any part of the whole world. The gallery it self is made in the shape of an L, according to Mr. *Lassel*, but, if it must needs be like a letter, it resembles the *Greek* Π most. It is adorned with admirable pieces of sculpture, as well modern as ancient. Of the last sort I shall mention those that are rarest, either for the person they represent, or the beauty of the sculpture. Among the Busts of the Emperors and Emperesses there are these that follow, which are all very scarce, and some of them[2] almost singular in their kind. *Agrippa*, *Caligula*, *Otho*, *Nerva*, *Ælius Verus*, *Pertinax*, *Geta*, *Didius Julianus*, *Albinus* extremely well wrought, and, what is seldom seen, in alabaster,[5] *Gordianus Africanus* the elder, *Eliogabalus*, *Galien* the elder, and the younger *Pupienus*. I have put *Agrippa* among the Emperors, because he is generally ranged so in sets of Medals, as some that follow among the Emperesses have no other right to the company they

[1] and] but, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] are] there are, 1705.
[4] to] that are to, 1705.
[5] alabaster] Alablaster, 1705.

are joined with. *Domitia, Agrippina* wife of *Germanicus, Antonia, Matidia, Plotina, Mallia Scantilla,* falsely inscribed[1] under her Bust *Julia Severi, Aquilia Severa, Julia Mæsa.* I have generally observed at *Rome,* which is the great magazine of these antiquities, that the same heads which are rare in Medals are also rare in Marble, and indeed one may commonly assign the same reason for both, which was the shortness of the Emperors reigns, that did not give the workmen time to make many of their figures; and as the shortness of their reigns was generally occasioned by the advancement of a rival, it is no wonder that no body worked on the figure of a deceased Emperor, when his enemy was in the throne. This observation however does not always hold. An *Agrippa* or *Caligula,* for example, is a common Coin, but a very extraordinary Bust; and a *Tiberius* a rare Coin, but a common Bust, which one would the more wonder at, if we consider the indignities that were offered to this Emperor's statues after his death. The *Tiberius in Tiberim* is a known instance.

Among the Busts of such Emperors as are common enough, there are several in the gallery that deserve to be taken notice of for the excellence of the sculpture, as those of *Augustus, Vespasian, Adrian, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta.* There is in the same gallery a beautiful Bust of *Alexander* the Great, casting up his face to Heaven, with a noble air of grief or discontentedness in his looks. I have seen two or three antique Busts of *Alexander* in the same air and posture, and am apt to think the Sculptor had in his thoughts the Conqueror's weeping for new worlds, or some other the like circumstance of his history. There is also in Porphyry the head of a Faun, and of the God *Pan.* Among the entire figures I took particular notice of a Vestal Virgin, with the holy fire burning before her. This statue, I think, may decide that notable controversie among the Antiquaries, whether the Vestals, after having received the Tonsure, ever suffered their hair to come again, for it is[2] here full grown, and gathered under the veil. The brazen

[1] inscribed] superscrib'd, 1705. [2] it is] 'tis, 1705.

figure of the Consul, with the Ring on his finger, reminded me of *Juvenal*'s *majoris pondera gemmæ*. There is another statue in brass, supposed to be of *Apollo*, with this modern inscription on the pedestal, which I must confess I do not[1] know what to make of. *Ut potui huc veni musis et fratre relicto.* I saw in the same gallery the famous figure of the wild Boar, the Gladiator, the *Narcissus*, the *Cupid* and *Psyche*, the *Flora*, with some modern statues that several others have described. Among the antique figures there is a fine one of *Morpheus* in touchstone. I have always observed, that this God is represented by the ancient Statuaries under the figure of a Boy asleep, with a bundle of Poppy in his hand. I at first took it for a *Cupid*, 'till I had taken notice that it had neither a bow[2] nor quiver. I suppose Doctor *Lister* has been guilty of the same mistake in the reflections he[3] makes on what he calls the sleeping *Cupid* with Poppy in his hands.

———*Qualia namque*
Corpora nudorum tabulâ pinguntur Amorum
Talis erat, sed nè faciat discrimina cultus,
Aut huic adde leves aut illis deme Pharetras. Ov. Met. L. 10.

Such are the *Cupids* that in paint we view;
But that the likeness may be nicely true,
A loaden Quiver to his shoulders tie,
Or bid the *Cupids* lay their quivers by.

'Tis probable they chose to represent the God of sleep under the figure of a Boy, contrary to all our modern designers, because it is that age which has its repose the least broken by cares and anxeties. *Statius*, in his celebrated invocation of Sleep, addresses himself to him under the same figure.

Crimine quo merui, juvenis placidissime Divûm,
Quove errore miser, donis ut solus egerem
Somne tuis? tacet omne pecus, volucresque feræque, &c. Silv. Lib. 5.

Tell me, thou best of Gods, thou gentle Youth,
Tell me my sad offence; that only I,
While hush'd at ease thy drowsie subjects lye,

[1] do not] don't, 1705. [2] a bow] Bow, 1705, 1718. [3] he] that he, 1705.

In the dead silence of the night complain,
Nor taste the blessings of thy peaceful reign.

I never saw any figure of Sleep, that was not of black marble, which has probably some relation to the night, which[1] is the proper season for rest. I should not have made this remark, but that I remember to have read in one of the ancient Authors, that the *Nile* is generally represented in stone of this colour, because i[t] flows[2] from the country of the *Ethiopians*; which shows us that the Statuaries had sometimes an eye to the person they were to represent, in the choice they made of their marble. There are still at *Rome* some of these black Statues of the *Nile* which[1] are cut in a kind of Touchstone.

Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis. Virg. Geor. 4. de Nilo.

At one end of the gallery stand two antique marble pillars, curiously wrought with the figures of the old *Roman* arms and instruments of war. After a full survey of the gallery, we were led into four or five chambers of Curiosities that stand on the side of it. The first was a Cabinet of Antiquities, made up chiefly of Idols, Talismans, Lamps and Hieroglyphics. I saw nothing in it that I was not before acquainted with, except the four following figures in brass.

I. A little Image of *Juno Sispita*, or *Sospita*, which per- [Plate III.]
haps is not to be met with any where else but on Medals. She is cloathed in a Goats-skin, the horns sticking out above her head. The right arm is broken that probably supported a shield, and the left a little defaced, though one may see it held something in its grasp formerly. The feet are bare. I remember *Tully*'s description of this Goddess in the following words. *Hercle inquit quàm tibi illam nostram Sospitam quam tu nunquam ne in Somniis vides, nisi cum pelle Caprinâ, cum hastâ, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis.*

II. An antique Model of the famous *Laocöon* and his two Sons, that stands in the *Belvidera* at *Rome*. This is the more remarkable, as it is entire in those parts where

[1] which] that, 1705, 1718. [2] flows] flow'd, 1705.

the statue is maim'd. It was by the help of this Model that *Bandinelli* finished his admirable copy of the *Laocöon*, which stands at one end of this gallery.

III. An *Apollo* or *Amphion*. I took notice of this little figure for the singularity of the Instrument, which I never before saw in ancient sculpture. It is not unlike a Violin, and played on after the same manner. I doubt however whether this figure be not of a later date than the rest, by the meanness of the workmanship.

IV. A *Corona Radialis* with only eight spikes to it. Every one knows the[1] usual number was twelve, some say in allusion to the signs of the *Zodiac*, and others to the labours of *Hercules*.

> *———Ingenti mole Latinus*
> *Quadrijugo vehitur curru ; cui tempora circùm*
> *Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,*
> *Solis avi specimen———* Virg. Æn. 12.
>
> Four steeds the Chariot of *Latinus* bear:
> Twelve golden beams around his temples play,
> To mark his lineage from the God of day. Mr. *Dryden*.

The two next chambers are made up of several artificial Curiosities in Ivory, Amber, Chrystal, Marble, and precious stones, which all voyage-writers are full of. In the chamber that is shown last stands the celebrated *Venus* of *Medicis*. The statue seems much less than the life, as being perfectly naked, and in company with others of a larger make: It is notwithstanding as big as the ordinary size of a woman, as I concluded from the measure of her wrist; for from the bigness of any one part it is easie to guess at all the rest, in a figure of such nice proportions. The softness of the flesh, the delicacy of the shape, air and posture, and the correctness of design in this statue, are inexpressible. I have several reasons to believe that the name of the Sculptor on the pedestal is not so old as the statue. This figure of *Venus* put me in mind of a speech she makes in one of the *Greek* Epigrams.

[1] Every . . . the] The, 1705.

PLATE III

A Medal of Juno Sispita. Vid. Fulv. Ursin. in Familiâ Thoriâ & Porciliâ.

This is a Reverse of Anton. Pius.

[*To face p.* 187.

Γυμνὴν οἶδε Πάρις με καὶ Ἀνχίσης καὶ Ἄδωνις,
Τοὺς τρεῖς οἶδα μόνους. Πραξιτέλης δὲ πόθεν;

Anchises, *Paris*, and *Adonis* too
Have seen me naked, and expos'd to view;
All these I frankly own without denying:
But where has this *Praxiteles* been prying?

There is another *Venus* in the same circle, that would make a good figure any where else. There are among the old *Roman* Statues several of *Venus* in different postures and habits, as there are many particular figures of her made after the same design. I fancy it is not hard to find among them [1] some that were made after the three statues of this Goddess, which *Pliny* mentions. In the same chamber is the *Roman* Slave whetting his knife and listning, which [2] from the shoulders upward is incomparable. The two Wrestlers are in the same room. I observed here likewise a very curious Bust of *Annius Verus*, the young Son of *Marcus Aurelius*, who [3] dyed at nine years of age. I have seen several other Busts of him at *Rome*, though his Medals are exceeding rare.

The Great Duke has ordered a large chamber to be fitted up for old Inscriptions, Urns, Monuments, and the like sets of Antiquities. I was shown several of them [1] which [2] are not yet put up. There are the two famous Inscriptions that give so great a light to the histories of *Appius*, who made the High-way, and of *Fabius* the Dictator; they contain a short account of the honours they passed through, and the actions they performed. I saw too the Busts of *Tranquillina*, Mother to *Gordianus Pius*, and of *Quintus Herennius*, Son to *Trajan Decius*, which are extremely valuable for their rarity, and a beautiful old figure made after the celebrated Hermaphrodite in the *Villa Borghese*. I saw nothing that has not been observed by several others in the *Argenteria*, the Tabernacle of St. *Laurence*'s chapel, and the chamber of Painters. The chapel of St. *Laurence* will be perhaps the most costly piece of work on the face of the earth when compleated, but it

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705. [3] who] that, 1705.

advances so very slowly,[1] that 'tis not impossible but the family of *Medicis* may be extinct before their burial place is finished.

The Great Duke has lived many years separate from the Dutchess, who is at present in the court of *France*, and intends there to end her days. The Cardinal his brother is old and infirm, and could never be induced to resign his purple for the uncertain prospect of giving an Heir to the Dukedom of *Tuscany*. The Great Prince has been married several years without any children, and notwithstanding all the precautions in the world were taken for the marriage of the Prince his younger brother (as the finding out a Lady for him who [2] was in the vigour and flower of her age, and had [3] given marks of her fruitfulness by a former Husband) they have all hitherto proved unsuccessful. There is a branch of the family of *Medicis* in *Naples*: The head of it has been owned as a kinsman by the Great [4] Duke, and it is [5] thought will succeed to his dominions, in case the Princes his sons die childless; though it is [5] not impossible but in such a conjuncture, the Common-wealths, that are thrown under the Great Dutchy, may make some efforts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty.

I was in the library of manuscripts belonging to St. *Laurence*, of which there is a printed Catalogue. I looked into the *Virgil* which [6] disputes its antiquity with that of the *Vatican*. It wants the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. and the twenty two lines in the second *Æneid*, beginning at *Jamque adeo super unus eram*——I must confess I always thought this passage left out with a great deal of judgment by *Tucca* and *Varius*, as it seems to contradict a part in the sixth *Æneid*, and represents the Heroe in a passion, that is, at least, not at all becoming the greatness of his character. Besides, I think the apparition of *Venus* comes in very properly to draw him away immediately after [7] the sight of *Priam*'s murder; for without such a machine to take him off, I cannot [8] see how the Heroe could, with honour, leave *Neoptolemus* triumphant, and *Priam* unrevenged. But

[1] slowly] slow, 1705. [2] who] that, 1705. [3] had] that had, 1705.
[4] Great] grand, 1705; Grand, 1718. [5] it is] 'tis, 1705, 1718.
[6] which] that, 1705. [7] immediately after] from, 1705, 1718.
[8] cannot] can't, 1705, 1718.

since *Virgil*'s friends thought fit to let drop this incident of *Helen*, I wonder they would not blot out, or alter a line in *Venus*'s speech, that has a relation to the rencounter, and comes in improperly without it.

Non tibi Tyndaridæ facies invisa Lacænæ,
Culpatusve Paris——— Æn. 2.

Florence for modern statues I think excels even *Rome*, but these I shall pass over in silence, that I may not transcribe out of others.

The way from *Florence* to *Bolonia* runs over several ranges of mountains, and is the worst road, I believe, of any over the *Appennines*; for this was my third time of crossing them.[1] It gave me a lively idea of *Silius Italicus*'s description of *Hannibal*'s march.

Quoque magis subiere jugo atque evadere nisi
Erexere gradum, crescit labor, ardua supra
Sese aperit, fessis et nascitur altera moles. L. 3.

From steep to steep the troops advanc'd with pain,
In hopes at last the topmost cliff to gain:
But still by new ascents the mountain grew,
And a fresh toil presented to their view.

I shall conclude this chapter with the descriptions which[2] the *Latin* Poets have given us of the[3] *Appennines*. We may observe in them[3] all the remarkable qualities of this prodigious length of mountains, that run from one extremity of *Italy* to the other, and give rise to an incredible variety of rivers that water this delightful country.

——*Nubifer Appenninus.* Ov. Met. L. 2.
——*Qui Siculum porrectus ad usque Pelorum.*
Finibus ab Ligurum populos amplectitur omnes
Italiæ, geminumque latus stringentia longè
Utraque perpetuo discriminat æquora tractu.
Clau. de Sexto Cons. Hon.

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705.
[3] *Appennines* . . . them] *Appennines*, in which we may observe, 1705.

——————Mole nivali
Alpibus æquatum attollens caput Apenninus. Sil. It. L. 2.

Horrebat glacie saxa inter lubrica summo
Piniferum cœlo miscens caput Apenninus:
Condiderat nix alta trabes, et vertice celso
Canus apex strictâ surgebat ad astra pruinâ. Li. 4. Id.

Umbrosis mediam quà collibus Apenninus
Erigit Italiam, nullo quâ vertice tellus
Altius intumuit, propiùsque accessit Olympo,
Mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas
Inferni superique maris: collesque coercent
Hinc Tyrrhena vado frangentes æquora Pisæ,
Illinc Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.
Fontibus hic vastis immensos concipit amnes,
Fluminaque in gemini spargit divortia ponti. Luc. L. 2.

In pomp the shady *Appennines* arise,
And lift th' aspiring nation to the skies;
No land like *Italy* erects the sight
By such a vast ascent, or swells to such a height:
Her num'rous states the tow'ring hills divide,
And see the billows rise on either side;
At *Pisa* here the range of mountains ends,
And here to high *Ancona*'s shores extends:
In their dark womb a thousand rivers lye,
That with continu'd streams the double sea supply.

Bolonia, Modena, Parma, Turin, &c.

AFTER a very tedious journey over the *Appennines*, we at last came to the river that runs at the foot of them,[1] and was[2] formerly called the little *Rhine*.

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] was] that was, 1705.

Following the course of this river we arrived in a short time at *Bolonia*.

———*Parvique Bononia Rheni.* Sil. It. 8.

Bolonia water'd by the petty *Rhine*.

We here quickly felt the difference of the northern from the southern side of the mountains, as well in the coldness of the air, as in the badness of the wine. This town is famous for the richness of the soil that lyes about it, and the magnificence of its Convents. It is likewise esteemed the third in *Italy* for pictures, as having been the school of the *Lombard* painters. I saw in it three rarities of different kinds, which [1] pleased me more than any other shows of the place. The first was an authentick silver Medal of the younger *Brutus*, in the hands of an eminent Antiquary. One may see the character of the person in the features of the face, which is exquisitely well cut. On the reverse is the cap of liberty, with a dagger on each side of it, subscribed *Id. Mar.* for the Ides of *March*, the famous date of *Cæsar*'s murder. The second was a picture of *Raphel*'s in St. *Giouanni* in *Monte*. It is extremely well preserved, and represents St. *Cecilia* with an instrument of musick in her hands. On one side of her are the figures of St. *Paul*, and St. *John*; and on the other, of *Mary Magdalene*, and St. *Austin*. There is something wonderfully divine in the airs of this picture. I cannot [2] forbear mentioning, for my third curiosity, a new Stair-case that strangers are generally carried to see, where the easiness of the ascent within so small a compass, the disposition of the lights, and the convenient landing, are admirably well contrived. The wars of *Italy*, and the season of the year, made me pass through the Dutchies of *Modena*, *Parma*, and *Savoy* with more haste than I would have done at another time. The soil of *Modena* and *Parma* is very rich and well cultivated. The palaces of the Princes are magnificent, but neither of them is yet finished. We procured a licence of the Duke of *Parma* to enter the Theater and Gallery, which [1] deserve to be seen as well as any thing of that nature in *Italy*.

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] cannot] can't, 1705.

The Theater is, I think, the most spacious of any I ever saw, and at the same time so admirably well contrived, that from the very depth of the stage the lowest sound may be heard distinctly to the farthest part of the audience, as in a whispering-place; and yet if you raise your voice as high as you please, there is nothing like an echo to cause in it the least confusion. The Gallery is hung with a numerous collection of pictures, all done by celebrated hands. On one side of the gallery is a large room adorned with inlaid tables, cabinets, works in amber, and other pieces of great art and value. Out of this we were led into another great room, furnished with old Inscriptions, Idols, Busts, Medals, and the like Antiquities. I could have spent a day with great satisfaction in this apartment, but had only time to pass my eye over the Medals, which are in great number, and many of them [1] very rare. The scarcest of all is a *Pescennius Niger* on a Medalion well preserved. It was coined at *Antioch*, where this Emperor trifled away his time 'till he lost his Life and Empire. The reverse is a *Dea Salus*. There are two of *Otho*, the reverse a *Serapis*; and two of *Messalina* and *Poppæa* in middle brass, the reverses of the Emperor *Claudius*. I saw two Medalions of *Plotina* and *Matidia*, the reverse to each a *Pietas*; with two Medals of *Pertinax*, the reverse of one *Vota Decennalia*, and of the other *Diis Custodibus*; and another of *Gordianus Africanus*, the reverse I have forgot.

The Principalities of *Modena* and *Parma* are much about the same extent, and have each of them [1] two large towns, besides a great number of little villages. The Duke of *Parma* however is much richer than the Duke of *Modena*. Their subjects would live in great plenty amidst so rich and well cultivated a soil, were not the taxes and impositions so very exorbitant; for the Courts are much too splendid and magnificent for the territories that lye about them, and one cannot [2] but be amazed to see such a profusion of wealth laid out in Coaches, Trappings, Tables, Cabinets, and the like precious toys, in which there are few Princes of *Europe* who [3] equal them,[1] when at the same time

[1] them], 'em, 1705.
[2] cannot] can't, 1705.
[3] who] that, 1705.

they have not had the generosity to make Bridges over the rivers of their countries for the convenience of their subjects, as well as strangers, who are forced to pay an unreasonable exaction at every ferry upon the least rising of the waters. A man might well expect in these small governments a much greater regulation of affairs, for the ease and benefit of the people, than in large overgrown states, where the rules of justice, beneficence, and mercy may be easily put out of their course, in passing through the hands of deputies, and a long subordination of officers. And it would certainly be for the good of mankind to have all the mighty Empires and Monarchies of the world cantoned out into petty States and Principalities, that, like so many large families, might lye under the eye and observation of their proper Governors; so that the care of the Prince might extend it self to every individual person under his protection. But since such a general scheme can never be brought about, and if it were, it would quickly be destroyed by the ambition of some particular state aspiring above the rest, it happens very ill at present to be born under one of these petty Soveraigns, that will be still endeavouring, at his subjects cost, to equal the pomp and grandeur of greater Princes, as well as to out-vie those of his own rank.

For this reason there are no people in the world who [1] live with more ease and prosperity than the subjects of little Common-wealths, as on the contrary there are none who [1] suffer more under the grievances of a hard government, than the subjects of little Principalities. I left the road of *Milan*, on my right-hand, having before seen that city, and after having passed through *Asti*, the frontier town of *Savoy*, I at last came within sight of the *Po*, which [2] is a fine river even at *Turin*, though within six miles of its source. This river has been made the scene of two or three poetical stories. *Ovid* has chosen it out to throw his *Phaeton* into it, after all the smaller rivers had been dryed up in the conflagration.

I have read some Botanical criticks, who tell us the Poets have not rightly followed the traditions of Antiquity,

[1] who] that, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705.

in metamorphosing the sisters of *Phaëton* into Poplars, who ought to have been turned into Larch-trees; for that it is this kind of tree which[1] sheds a Gum, and is[2] commonly found on the banks of the *Po*. The change of *Cycnus* into a Swan, which closes up the disasters of *Phaeton*'s family, was wrought on the same place where the sisters were turned into trees. The descriptions that *Virgil* and *Ovid* have made of it cannot be sufficiently admired.[3]

Claudian has set off his description of the *Eridanus*, with all the poetical stories that have been made of it.

———Ille caput placidis sublime fluentis
Extulit, et totis lucem spargentia ripis
Aurea roranti micuerunt cornua vultu.
Non illi madidum vulgaris Arundine crinem
Velat honos, rami caput umbravere virentes
Heliadum, totisque fluunt electra capillis.
Palla tegit latos humeros, curruque paterno
Intextus Phaëton glaucos incendit amictus:
Fultaque sub gremio cælatis nobilis astris
Ætherium probat urna decus. Namque omnia luctûs
Argumenta sui Titan signavit Olympo,
Mutatumque senem plumis, et fronde sorores,
Et fluvium, nati qui vulnera lavit anheli.
Stat gelidis Auriga plagis, vestigia fratris
Germanæ servant Hyades, Cycnique sodalis
Lacteus extentas aspergit circulus alas.
Stellifer Eridanus sinuatis fluctibus errans.
Clara noti convexa rigat.———Claudian. de Sexto Cons. Honorii.

His head above the floods he gently rear'd,
And as he rose his golden horns appear'd,
That on the forehead shone divinely bright,
And o'er the banks diffus'd a yellow light:
No interwoven Reeds a garland made,
To hide his brows within the vulgar shade,
But Poplar wreaths around his temples spread,
And tears of Amber trickled down his head:

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] is] that is, 1705.
[3] cannot . . . admired] are extreamly charming, 1705.

A spacious veil from his broad shoulders flew,
That set th' unhappy *Phaeton* to view:
The flaming Chariot and the Steeds it show'd,
And the whole Fable in the mantle glow'd:
Beneath his arm an Urn supported lyes
With stars embellish'd, and fictitious skies.
For *Titan*, by the mighty loss dismay'd,
Among the Heav'ns th' immortal fact display'd,
Lest the remembrance of his grief should fail,
And in the Constellations wrote his tale.
A Swan in memory of *Cycnus* shines;
The mourning Sisters weep in Watry signs;
The burning Chariot, and the Charioteer,
In bright *Boötes* and his Wane appear;
Whilst in a Track of Light the Waters run,
That wash'd the body of his blasted son.

The river *Po* gives a name to the chief street of *Turin*, which[1] fronts the Duke's Palace, and, when finished, will be one of the noblest in *Italy* for its length. There is one convenience in this City that I never observed in any other, and which[1] makes some amends for the badness of the pavement. By the help of a river that runs on the upper side of the town, they can convey a little stream of water through all the most considerable streets, which serves to cleanse the gutters, and carries away all the filth that is swept into it. The manager opens his sluice every night, and distributes the water into what quarters of the town he pleases. Besides the ordinary convenience that arises from it, it is[2] of great use when a fire chances to break out, for at a few minutes warning they have a little river running by the very wall[3] of the house that is burning. The Court of *Turin* is reckoned the most splendid and polite of any in *Italy*; but by reason of its being in mourning, I could not see it in its magnificence. The common people of this state are more exasperated against the *French* than even the rest of the *Italians*. For the great mischiefs they have suffered from them[4]

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[3] wall] Walls, 1705, 1718.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.

are still fresh upon their memories, and notwithstanding this interval of peace, one may easily trace out the several marches which [1] the *French* armies have made through their country, by the ruine and desolation they have left behind them.[2] I passed through *Piemont* and *Savoy*, at a time when the Duke was forced, by the necessity [3] of his affairs, to be in alliance with the *French*.

I came directly from *Turin* to *Geneva*, and had a very easie journey over mount *Cennis*, though about the beginning of *December*, the snows having not yet fallen. On the top of this high mountain is a large Plain, and in the midst of the plain a beautiful Lake, which would be very extraordinary were there not several mountains in the neighbourhood rising over it. The Inhabitants thereabout pretend that it is [4] unfathomable, and I question not but the waters of it fill up a deep valley, before they come to a level with the surface of the plain. It is well stocked with Trouts, though they say it is covered with Ice three quarters of the year.

There is nothing in the natural face of *Italy* that is more delightful to a traveller, than the several Lakes which [1] are dispersed up and down among the many breaks and hollows of the *Alpes* and *Appennines*. For as these vast heaps of mountains are thrown together with so much irregularity and confusion, they form a great variety of hollow bottoms, that often lye in the figure of so many artificial Basins; where, if any fountains chance to rise, they naturally spread themselves into Lakes before they can find any issue for their waters. The ancient *Romans* took a great deal of pains to hew out a passage for these Lakes to discharge themselves into some neighbouring river, for the bettering of the air, or the recovering of the soil that lay underneath them.[2] The draining of the *Fucinus* by the Emperor *Claudius*, with the prodigious multitude of spectators who [5] attended it, and the famous *Naumachia* and splendid entertainment which were made upon it before the sluces were opened, is a known piece of history. In all our journey through the *Alpes*, as well

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] the necessity] Necessity, 1705.
[4] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[5] who] that, 1705.

when we climbed as when we descended them,[1] we had still a river running along with the road, that probably at first occasioned the discovery of this [2] passage. I shall end this chapter with a description of the *Alpes*, as I did the last with those of the *Appennines*. The Poet perhaps would not have taken notice, that there is no spring nor summer on these mountains, but because in this respect the *Alpes* are quite different from the *Appennines*, which [3] have as delightful green spots among them [1] as any in *Italy*.

Cuncta gelu canâque æternùm grandine tecta,
Atque ævi glaciem cohibent: riget ardua montis
Ætherii facies, surgentique obvia Phœbo
Duratus nescit flammis mollire pruinas.
Quantùm Tartareus regni pallentis hiatus
Ad manes imos atque atræ stagna paludis
A superâ tellure patet: tam longa per auras
Erigitur tellus, et cœlum intercipit umbrâ.
Nullum ver usquam, nullique æstatis honores;
Sola jugis habitat diris, sedesque tuetur
Perpetuas deformis hyems: illa undique nubes
Huc atras agit et mixtos cum grandine nimbos.
Nam cuncti flatus ventique furentia regna.
Alpinâ posuere domo, caligat in altis
Obtutus saxis, abeuntque in nubila montes. Sil. It. L. 3.

Stiff with eternal Ice, and hid in Snow,
That fell a thousand centuries ago,
The mountain stands; nor can the rising sun
Unfix her frosts, and teach 'em how to run:
Deep as the dark infernal waters lye
From the bright regions of the chearful sky,
So far the proud ascending rocks invade
Heav'ns upper realms, and cast a dreadful shade:
No spring, nor summer, on the mountain seen,
Smiles with gay fruits, or with delightful green;
But hoary winter, unadorn'd and bare,
Dwells in the dire retreat, and freezes there;

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] this] that, 1705. [3] which] that, 1705.

There she assembles all her blackest storms,
And the rude hail in rattling tempests forms;
Thither the loud tumultuous winds resort,
And on the mountain keep their boist'rous court,
That in thick show'rs her rocky summet[1] shrowds,
And darkens all the broken view with clouds.

GENEVA and the LAKE.

NEAR St. *Julian* in *Savoy* the *Alpes* begin to enlarge themselves on all sides, and open into a vast circuit of ground, which[2] in respect of the other parts of the *Alpes* may pass for a plain champian country. This extent of lands, with the *Leman* Lake, would make one of the prettiest and most defensible dominions in *Europe*, was it all thrown into a single state, and had *Geneva* for its metropolis. But there are three powerful neighbours who[3] divide among them[4] the greatest part of this fruitful country. The Duke of *Savoy* has the *Chablais*, and all the fields that lye beyond the *Arve*, as far as to the *Ecluse*. The King of *France* is master of the whole country of *Gex*; and the Canton of *Berne* comes in for that of *Vaud*. *Geneva* and its little territories lye in the heart of these three States. The greatest part of the town stands upon a hill, and has its views bounded on all sides by several ranges of mountains, which are however at so great a distance, that they leave open a wonderful variety of beautiful prospects. The situation of these mountains has some particular effects on the country, which they enclose. As first, they cover it from all winds, except the south and north. 'Tis to the last of these winds that the Inhabitants of *Geneva* ascribe the healthfulness of their air; for as the *Alpes*

[1] summet] Summets, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] who] that, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.

surround them [1] on all sides, they form a vast kind of Bason, where there would be a constant stagnation of vapours, the country being so well watered, did not the north-wind put them [1] in motion, and scatter them [1] from time to time. Another effect the [2] *Alpes* have on *Geneva* is, that the sun here rises later and sets sooner than it does to other places of the same latitude. I have often observed that the tops of the neighbouring mountains have been covered with light above half an hour after the sun is down, in respect of those who [3] live at *Geneva*. These mountains likewise very much increase their summer heats, and make up an Horizon that has something in it very singular and agreeable. On one side you have the long tract of hills, that goes under the name of Mount *Jura*, covered with vineyards and pasturage, and on the other huge precipices of naked rocks rising up in a thousand odd figures, and cleft in some places, so as to discover high mountains of Snow that lye several leagues behind them.[1] Towards the south the hills rise more insensibly, and leave the eye a vast uninterrupted prospect for many miles. But the most beautiful view of all is the Lake, and the borders of it that lye north of the town.

This Lake resembles a Sea in the colour of its waters, the storms that are raised on it, and the ravage it makes on its banks. It receives too a different name from the coasts it washes, and in summer has something like an ebb and flow, which arises from the melting of the snows that fall into it more copiously at noon than at other times of the day. It has five different States bordering on it, the Kingdom of *France*, and the [4] Dutchy of *Savoy*, the Canton of *Berne*, the Bishoprick of *Sion*, and the Republick of *Geneva*. I have seen papers fixed up in the Canton of *Berne*, with this magnificent preface; *Whereas we have been informed of several abuses committed in our Ports and Harbours on the Lake*, &c.

I made a little voyage round the Lake, and touched on the several towns that lye on its coasts, which took up near five days, though the wind was pretty fair for us all the while.

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] the] that the, 1705.
[3] those who] some that, 1705.
[4] and the] the, 1705, 1718.

The right side of the Lake from *Geneva* belongs to the Duke of *Savoy*, and is extremely well cultivated. The greatest entertainment we [1] found in coasting it were the several prospects of Woods, Vineyards, Meadows, and Corn-fields, which [2] lye on the borders of it, and run up all the sides of the *Alpes*, where the barrenness of the rocks, or the steepness of the ascent will suffer them.[3] The wine however on this side of the Lake is by no means so good as that on the other, as it has not so open a soil, and is less exposed to the Sun. We here passed by *Yvoire*, where the Duke keeps his Gallies, and lodged at *Tonon*, which is the greatest town on the Lake belonging to the *Savoyard*. It has four convents, and they say about six or seven thousand Inhabitants. The Lake is here about twelve miles in breadth. At a little distance from *Tonon* stands *Ripaille*, where is [4] a convent of *Carthusians*. They have a large forest cut out into walks, that are extremely thick and gloomy, and very suitable to the Genius of the Inhabitants.[5] There are *Vista's* in it of a great length, that terminate upon the Lake. At one side of the walks you have a near prospect of the *Alpes*, which are broken into so many steps [6] and precipices, that they fill the mind with an agreeable kind of horror, and form one of the most irregular mis-shapen scenes in the world. The house that is now in the hands of the *Carthusians* belonged formerly to the Hermites of St. *Maurice*, and is famous in history for the retreat of an Anti-pope, who [7] called himself *Felix* the fifth. He had been Duke of *Savoy*, and after a very glorious reign took on him the habit of a Hermite, and retired into this solitary spot of his dominions. His enemies will have it, that he lived here in great ease and luxury, from whence the *Italians* to this day make use of the proverb, *Andare a Ripaglia*; and the *French*, *Faire Ripaille*, to express a delightful kind of life. They say too, that he had great managements with several Ecclesiasticks before he turned Hermite, and that he did it in the view of being advanced to the Pontificate. How-

[1] we] that we, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] is] there is, 1705.
[5] Inhabitants] Place, 1705.
[6] steps] Steeps, 1705.
[7] who] that, 1705.

ever it was, he had not been here half a year before he was chosen Pope by the Council of *Basil*, who [1] took upon them [2] to depose *Eugenio* the fourth. This promised fair at first, but by the death of the Emperor, who favoured *Amadeo*, and the resolution of *Eugenio*, the greatest part of the Church threw it self again under the government of their deposed head. Our Anti-pope however was still supported by the Council of *Basil*, and owned by *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, and a few other little states. This schism lasted in the church nine years, after which *Felix* voluntarily resigned his title into the hands of Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, but on the following conditions, That *Amadeo* should be the first Cardinal in the Conclave; That the Pope should always receive him standing, and offer him his mouth to kiss; That he should be perpetual Cardinal-legate in the states of *Savoy* and *Switzerland*, and in the Arch-bishopricks of *Geneva*, *Sion*, *Bress*, &c. And lastly, That all the Cardinals of his creation should be recognized by the Pope. After he had made a peace so acceptable to the church, and so honourable to himself, he spent the remainder of his life with great devotion at *Ripaille*, and dyed with an extraordinary reputation of sanctity.

At *Tonon* they showed us a fountain of water that is in great esteem for its wholesomness. They say it weighs two ounces in a pound less than the same measure of the Lake water, notwithstanding this last is very good to drink, and as clear as can be imagined. A little above *Tonon* is a castle and small garrison. The next day we saw other small towns on the coast of *Savoy*, where there is nothing but misery and poverty. The nearer you come to the end of the Lake the mountains on each side grow thicker and higher, 'till at last they almost meet. One often sees on the tops of the mountains several sharp rocks that stand above the rest; for as these mountains have been doubtless much higher than they are at present, the rains have washed away abundance of the soil, that has [3] left the veins of stone shooting out of them [2]; as in a decayed body the flesh is still shrinking from the bones. The natural histories of *Switzerland* talk very much of the fall

[1] who] that, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] has] have, 1705.

of these rocks, and the great damage they have sometimes done, when their foundations have been mouldered with age, or rent by an earthquake. We saw in several parts of the *Alpes* that bordered upon us vast pits of snow, as several mountains that lye at a greater distance are wholly covered with it. I fancied the confusion of mountains and hollows, I here observed, furnished me with a more probable reason than any I have met with for those [1] periodical fountains in *Switzerland*, which [2] flow only at such particular hours of the day. For as the tops of these mountains cast their shadows upon one another, they hinder the Sun's shining on several parts at such certain times, so that there are several heaps of snow, which [2] have the Sun lying upon them [3] two or three hours together, and [4] are in the shade all the day afterwards. If therefore it happens that any particular fountain takes its rise from any of these reservoirs of snow, it will naturally begin to flow on such hours of the day as the snow begins to melt: but as soon as the Sun leaves it again to freeze and harden, the fountain dries up, and receives no more supplies 'till about the same time the next day, when the heat of the Sun again sets the snows a running that fall into the same little conduits, traces, and canals, and by consequence break out and discover themselves always in the same place. At the very extremity of the Lake the *Rhone* enters, and, when I saw it, brought along with it a prodigious quantity of water; the rivers and lakes of this country being much higher in summer than in winter, by reason of the melting of the snows. One would wonder how so many learned men could fall into so great an absurdity, as to believe this river could preserve it self unmixed with the Lake 'till its going out again at *Geneva*, which is a course of many miles. It was extremely muddy at its entrance when I saw it, though as clear as rock-water at its going out. Besides, that it brought in much more water than it carryed off. The river indeed preserves it self for about a quarter of a mile in the Lake, but is afterwards so wholly mixed, and lost with the waters of the Lake, that one

[1] those] the, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] and] that, 1705.

discovers nothing like a stream 'till within about a quarter of a mile of *Geneva*. From the end of the Lake to the source of the *Rhone* is a valley of about four days journey in length, which [1] gives the name of *Vallesins* to its Inhabitants, and is the dominion of the Bishop of *Sion*. We lodged the second night at *Ville Neuve*, a little town in the Canton of *Berne*, where we found good accommodations, and a much greater appearance of plenty than on the other side of the Lake. The next day, having passed by the castle of *Chillon*, we came to *Versoy*, another town in the Canton of *Berne*, where *Ludlow* retired after having left *Geneva* and *Lausanne*. The Magistrates of the town warned him out of the first by the sollicitation of the Dutchess of *Orleans*, as the death of his friend *Lisle* made him quit the other. He probably chose this retreat as a place of the greatest safety, it being an easie matter to know what strangers are in the town, by reason of its situation. The house he lived in has this inscription over the Door.

Omne solum forti patria
quia patris.

The first part is a piece of a verse in *Ovid*, as the last is a cant of his own. He is buried in the best of the churches with the following Epitaph.

Siste gradum et respice

Hic jacet Edmond Ludlow Anglus Natione, Provinciæ Wiltoniensis, filius Henrici Equestris Ordinis, Senatorisque Parlamenti, cujus quoque fuit ipse membrum, Patrum stemmate clarus et nobilis, virtute propriâ nobilior, religione protestans et insigni pietate coruscus, ætatis Anno 23. *Tribunus Militum, paulo post exercitûs prætor primarius. Tunc Hibernorum domitor, in pugnâ intrepidus et vitæ prodigus, in victoriâ clemens et mansuetus, patriæ libertatis defensor, et potestatis arbitrariæ impugnator* [2] *acerrimus; cujus causâ ab eâdem patriâ* 32 *annis extorris, meliorique fortunâ dignus apud Helvetios se recepit ibique ætatis*

[1] which] that, 1705.

[2] *impugnator*] *propugnator*, 1705, 1718.

Anno 73. Moriens sui desiderium relinquens sedes æternas lætus advolavit.

Hocce Monumentum, in perpetuam veræ et sinceræ pietatis erga Maritum defunctum memoriam, dicat et vovet Domina Elizabeth de Thomas, ejus strenua et mæstissima, tam in infortuniis quam in matrimonio, consors dilectissima, quæ animi magnitudine et vi amoris conjugalis mota eum in exilium ad obitum usque constanter secuta est. Anno Dom. 1693.

Ludlow was a constant frequenter of sermons and prayers, but would never communicate with them [1] either of *Geneva* or *Vevy*. Just by his monument is a tombstone with the following inscription.

Depositorium

Andreæ Broughton Armigeri Anglicani Maydstonensis in Comitatu Cantii ubi bis prætor Urbanus. Dignatusque etiam fuit sententiam Regis Regum profari. Quam ob causam expulsus patriâ suâ, peregrinatione ejus finitâ, solo senectutis morbo affectus requiescens a laboribus suis in Domino obdormivit, 23 die Feb. Anno D. 1687. *ætatis suæ* 84. The Inhabitants of the place could give no account of this *Broughton*, but, I suppose, by his Epitaph, it is the same person that was Clerk to the pretended High Court of Justice, which [2] passed sentence on the Royal Martyr.

The next day we spent at *Lausanne*, the greatest town on the Lake, after *Geneva*. We saw the Wall of the cathedral church that was opened by an earthquake, and shut again some years after by a second. The Crack can but be just discerned at present, though there are several in the town still living who [3] have formerly passed through it. The Duke of *Schomberg*, who was killed in *Savoy*, lyes in this church, but without any monument or inscription over him. *Lausanne* was once a Republick, but is now under the Canton of *Berne*, and governed, like the rest of their dominions, by a Baily who [3] is sent them [1] every three years from the Senate of *Berne*. There is one

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] which] that, 1705. [3] who] that, 1705.

street of this town that has the privilege of acquitting or condemning any person of their own body, in matters of life and death. Every Inhabitant of it has his vote, which makes a house here sell better than in any other part of the town. They tell you that not many years ago it happened, that a Cobler had the casting vote for the life of a criminal, which he very graciously gave on the merciful side. From *Lausanne* to *Geneva* we coasted along the country of the *Vaud*, which is the fruitfullest and best cultivated part of any among the *Alpes*. It belonged formerly to the Duke of *Savoy*, but was won from him by the Canton of *Berne*, and made over to it by the treaty of St. *Julian*, which is still very much regretted by the *Savoyard*. We called in at *Morge*, where there is an artificial port, and a show of more trade than in any other town on the Lake. From *Morge* we came to *Nyon*. The *Colonia Equestris*, that *Julius Cæsar* settled in this country, is generally supposed to have been planted in this place. They have often dug up old *Roman* inscriptions and statues, and as I walked in the town I observed in the walls of several houses the fragments of vast *Corinthian* pillars, with several other pieces of Architecture, which [1] must have formerly belonged to some very noble pile of building. There is no Author that mentions this Colony, yet it is [2] certain by several old *Roman* Inscriptions that there was such an one. *Lucan* indeed speaks of a part of *Cæsar*'s army, that came to him from the *Leman* Lake in the beginning of the Civil War.

Deseruere cavo tentoria fixa Lemanno.

At about five miles distance from *Nyon* they show still the ruines of *Cæsar*'s wall, that reached eighteen miles in length from mount *Jura* to the borders of the Lake, as he has described it in the first book of his Commentaries. The next town upon the Lake is *Versoy*, which we could not have an opportunity of seeing, as belonging to the King of *France*.[3] It has the reputation of being extremely poor and

[1] which] that, 1705. [2] it is] 'tis, 1705.

[3] we . . . *France*] belongs to the King of *France*, and for that Reason we could not see. 1705.

beggarly. We sailed from hence directly for *Geneva*, which makes a very noble show from the Lake. There are near *Geneva* several quarries of free-stone that run under the Lake. When the water is at lowest they make within the borders of it a little square enclosed with four walls. In this square they sink a pit, and dig for free-stone; the walls hindering the waters from coming in upon them,[1] when the Lake rises and runs on all sides of them.[1] The great convenience of carriage makes these stones much cheaper than any that can be found upon firm land. One sees several deep pits that have been made at several times as one sails over them.[1] As the Lake approaches *Geneva* it grows still narrower and narrower, 'till at last it changes its name into the *Rhone*, which [2] turns all the mills of the town, and is extremely rapid, notwithstanding its waters are very deep. As I have seen a great part of the course of this river, I cannot [3] but think it has been guided by the particular hand of Providence. It rises in the very heart of the *Alpes*, and has a long valley that seems hewn out on purpose to give its waters a passage amidst so many rocks and mountains which [2] are on all sides of it. This brings it almost in a direct line to *Geneva*. It would there overflow all the country, were [4] there not one particular cleft that divides a vast circuit of mountains, and conveys it off to *Lyons*. From *Lyons* there is another great rent, which [2] runs across the whole country in almost another streight line, and notwithstanding the vast height of the mountains that rise about it, gives it the shortest course it can take to fall into the sea. Had such a river as this been left to it self to have found its way out from among the *Alpes*, whatever windings it had made it must have formed several little seas, and have laid [5] many countries under water before it had come to the end of its course. I shall not make any remarks upon *Geneva*, which [2] is a Republick so well known to the *English*. It lyes at present under some difficulties by reason of the Emperor's displeasure, who has forbidden the importation of their manufactures into any part of the Empire, which will certainly

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705, 1718.
[3] cannot] can't, 1705.
[4] were] was, 1705.
[5] laid] lain, 1705.

raise a sedition among the people, unless the Magistrates find some way to remedy it: and they say it is [1] already done by the interposition of the States of *Holland*. The occasion of the Emperor's prohibition was their furnishing great sums to the King of *France* for the payment of his army in *Italy*. They obliged themselves to remit, after the rate of twelve hundred thousand pounds Sterling, *per Annum*, divided into so many monthly payments. As the interest was very great, several of the merchants of *Lyons*, who [2] would not trust their King in their own names, are said to have contributed a great deal under the names of *Geneva* merchants. The Republick fancies it self hardly treated by the Emperor, since it is not any action of the State, but a compact among private persons that hath [3] furnished out these several remittances. They pretend however to have put a stop to them,[4] and by that means are in hopes again to open their commerce into the Empire.

Fribourg, *Berne*, *Soleurre*, *Zurich*, St. *Gaul*, *Lindaw*, &c.

FROM *Geneva* I travelled to *Lausanne*, and thence to *Fribourg*, which is but a mean town for the capital of so large a Canton: Its situation is so irregular, that they are forced to climb up to several parts of it by staircases of a prodigious ascent. This inconvenience however gives them [4] a very great commodity in case a fire breaks out in any part of the town, for by reason of several reservoirs on the tops of these mountains, by the opening of a sluce they convey a river into what part of the town they please. They have four churches, four convents of women, and as many for men. The little chappel, called

[1] it: and . . . is] it, which they say is, 1705.
[2] who] that, 1705.
[3] hath] have, 1705.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.

the *Salutation*, is very neat, and built with a pretty fancy. The college of Jesuits is, they say, the finest in *Switzerland*. There is a great deal of room in it, and several beautiful views from the different parts of it. They have a collection of pictures representing most of the Fathers of their order, who [1] have been eminent for their piety or learning. Among the rest many *English* men whom we name Rebels, and they Martyrs. *Henry Garnet*'s inscription says, That when the hereticks could not prevail with him, either by force or promises, to change his religion, they hanged and quartered him. At the *Capuchins* [2] I saw the Escargatoire, which I took the more notice of because I do not [3] remember to have met with any thing of the same in [4] other countries. It is a square place boarded in, and filled with a vast quantity of large Snails, that are esteemed excellent food when they are well dressed. The floor is strowed about half a foot deep with several kinds of plants, among which the Snails nestle all the winter season. When *Lent* arrives they open their magazines, and take out of them [5] the best Meagre food in the world, for there is no dish of fish that they reckon comparable to a Ragoût of Snails.

[6] About two leagues from *Fribourg* we went to see a Hermitage, that is reckoned the greatest curiosity of these parts. It lyes in the prettiest solitude imaginable, among woods and rocks, which [7] at first sight dispose a man to be serious. There has lived in it a Hermite these five and twenty years, who with his own hands has worked in the rock a pretty Chapel, a Sacristie,[8] a Chamber, Kitchin, Cellar, and other conveniences. His chimney is carryed up through the whole rock, so that you see the sky through it, notwithstanding the rooms lye very deep. He has cut the side of the rock into a flat for a garden, and by laying on it the waste earth that he has found in several of the neighbouring parts, has made such a spot of ground of it as furnishes out a kind of luxury for a Hermite. As he saw drops of water distilling from several parts of the rock, by following the veins of them,[5] he has made himself

[1] who] that, 1705.
[2] *Capuchins*] *Capucins*, 1705.
[3] do not] don't, 1705.
[4] in] Nature in, 1705.
[5] them] 'em, 1705.
[6] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[7] which] that, 1705.
[8] Sacristie] Sacrifice, 1705.

two or three fountains in the bowels of the mountain, that serve his table, and water his little garden.

[1] We had very bad ways from hence to *Berne*, a great part of them [2] through woods of Fir-trees. The great quantity of timber [3] they have in this country makes them [2] mend their high-ways with wood [4] instead of stone. I could not but take notice of the Make of several of their Barns I [5] here saw. After having laid a frame of wood for the foundation, they place at the four corners of it four huge blocks, cut in such a shape as neither Mice nor any other sort of vermin can creep up the sides of them,[2] at the same time that they raise the corn above the moisture that might come into it from the ground. The whole weight of the barn is supported by these four blocks.

What pleased me most at *Berne* was their publick walks by [6] the Great Church. They are raised extremely high, and that their weight might not break down the walls and pilasters which [7] surround them,[2] they are built upon arches and vaults. Though they are, I believe, as high as most steeples in *England* from the streets and gardens that lye at the foot of them,[2] yet about forty years ago a person in [8] his drink fell down from the very top to the bottom, without doing himself any other hurt than the breaking of an arm. He dy'd about four years ago. There is the noblest summer-prospect in the world from this walk, for you have a full view of a huge range of mountains that lye in the country of the *Grisons*, and are bury'd in Snow.[9] They are about twenty five leagues distance from the town, though by reason of their height and their colour they seem much nearer.[10] The cathedral church stands on one side of these walks, and is perhaps the most magnificent of any Protestant church in *Europe* out of *England*. It is a very bold work, and a master-piece in *Gothic* Architecture.

[1] I saw the Arsenal of *Berne*, where they say there are arms for twenty thousand men. There is indeed no great

[1] *No new paragraph in* 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] timber] Wood, 1705.
[4] wood] Logs of wood, 1705. [5] I] that I, 1705.
[6] by] that lye by, 1705. [7] which] that, 1705. [8] in] that was in, 1705.
[9] Snow.] Snow from the very Top to the Bottom. 1705.
[10] nearer] nearer it, 1705.

pleasure in visiting these magazines of war after one has seen two or three of them,[1] yet it is very well worth a Traveller's while to look into all that lye in his way; for besides the Idea it gives him of the Forces of a state, it serves to fix in his mind the most considerable parts of its History. Thus in that of *Geneva* one meets with the Ladders, Petard, and other utensils which[2] were made use of in their famous Escalade, besides the weapons they took of the *Savoyards*, *Florentines*, and *French* in the several battles mentioned[3] in their history. In this of *Berne* you have the figure and armour of the Count who[4] founded the town, of the famous *Tell*, who is represented as shooting at the Apple on his son's head. The story is too well known to be repeated in this place. I here likewise saw the figure and armour of him that headed the Peasants in the war upon *Berne*, with the several weapons which were found in the hands of his followers. They show too abundance of arms that they took from the *Burgundians* in the three great battles which[2] established them[1] in their liberty, and destroyed[5] the Great Duke of *Burgundy* himself, with the bravest of his subjects. I saw nothing remarkable in the chambers where the Council meet, nor in the fortifications of the town. These last were made on occasion of the Peasants insurrection, to defend the place for the future against the like sudden assaults. In their Library I observed a couple of antique figures in metal, of a Priest pouring wine between the horns of a Bull. The Priest is veiled after the manner of the old *Roman* sacrificers, and is represented in the same action that *Virgil* describes in the third *Æneid*.

Ipsa tenens dextrâ pateram pulcherrima Dido
Candentis vaccæ media inter cornua fundit.

This antiquity was found at *Lausanne*.

The town of *Berne* is plentifully[6] furnished with water, there being a great multitude of handsome fountains planted at set distances from one end of the streets to

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] mentioned] that are mentioned, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.
[5] destroyed] that destroyed, 1705.
[6] plentifully] extreamly well, 1705.

the other. There is indeed no country in the world better supplyed with water, than the several parts of *Switzerland* that I travelled through. One meets every where in the roads with fountains continually running into huge Troughs that stand underneath them,[1] which is wonderfully commodious in a country that so much abounds with horses and cattle. It has so many springs breaking[2] out of the sides of the hills, and such vast quantities of wood to make Pipes of, that it is no wonder they are so well stocked with fountains.

[3] On the road between *Berne* and *Soleurre* there is a monument erected by the Republick of *Berne*, which tells us the story of an *English-man*, who [4] is not to be met with in any of our own writers. The inscription is in *Latin* verse on one side of the stone, and in *German* on the other. I had not time to copy it, but the substance of it is this. "One *Cussinus*, an *English-man*, to whom the Duke of "*Austria* had given his Sister in marriage, came to take "her from among the *Swiss* by force of arms, but after "having ravaged the country for some time, he was here "overthrown by the Canton of *Berne*."

[3] *Soleurre* is our next considerable town [5] that seemed to me to have a greater air of politeness than any I saw in *Switzerland*. The *French* Ambassador has his residence in this place. His Master contributed a great [6] sum of mony to the Jesuits church, which is not yet quite finished. It is the finest modern building in *Switzerland*. The old cathedral church stood not far from it. At the ascent that leads to it are a couple of antique pillars which [7] belonged to an old heathen temple, dedicated to *Hermes*: They seem *Tuscan* by their proportion. The whole fortification of *Soleurre* is faced with marble. But its best fortifications are the high mountains that lye within its neighbourhood, and separate it from the *Franche Comptè*.

[3] The next day's journey carried us through other parts of the Canton of *Berne*, to the little town of *Meldingen*. I was surprised to find in all my road through *Switzerland*, the wine that grows in the country of *Vaud* on the borders

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] breaking] that break, 1705.
[3] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.
[5] town that] Town, that, 1705.
[6] great] noble, 1705.
[7] which] that, 1705.

of the Lake of *Geneva*, which is very [1] cheap, notwithstanding the [2] great distance between the vineyards and the towns that sell the wine. But the navigable rivers of *Switzerland* are as commodious to them [3] in this respect, as the sea is to the *English*. As soon as the vintage is over, they ship off their wine upon the Lake, which furnishes all the towns that lye upon its borders. What they design for other parts of the country they unload at *Vevy*, and after about half a day's land-carriage convey it into the river *Aar*, which [4] brings it down the stream to *Berne*, *Soleurre*, and, in a word, distributes it through all the richest parts of *Switzerland*; as it is easie to guess from the first sight of the Map, which shows us the natural communication Providence [5] has formed between the many Rivers and Lakes of a country that is at so great a distance from the sea. The Canton of *Berne* is reckoned as powerful as all the rest together. They can send a hundred thousand men into the field; though the soldiers of the Catholick Cantons, who are much poorer, and therefore forced to enter oftner into foreign armies, are more esteemed than the Protestants.

[6] We lay one [7] night at *Meldingen*, which is a little *Roman* Catholick town with one church, and no convent. It is a Republick of it self under the protection of the eight ancient Cantons. There are in it a hundred Bourgeois, and about a thousand Souls. Their government is modelled after the same manner with that of the Cantons, as much as so small a community can imitate those of so large an extent. For this reason though they have very little business to do, they have all the variety of councils and officers that are to be met with in the greater states. They have a town-house to meet in, adorned with the arms of the eight Cantons their protectors. They have three Councils, the Great Council of fourteen, the Little Council of ten, and the Privy Council of three. The chief of the State are the two Avoyers: When I was there, the reigning Avoyer, or the Doge [8] of the Commonwealth, was son to the Inn where I was lodged; his Father having enjoyed

[1] very] extreamly, 1705.
[2] the] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] which] that, 1705.
[5] Providence] that Providence, 1705.
[6] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[7] one] a, 1705.
[8] the Doge] Doge, 1705, 1718.

the same honours before him. His revenue amounts to about thirty pound a year. The several Councils meet every *Thursday* upon affairs of State, such as the reparation of a Trough, the mending of a Pavement, or any the like matters of importance. The river that runs through their dominions puts them [1] to the charge of a very large bridge, that is all made of wood, and coped over head, like the rest in *Switzerland*. Those that travel over it pay a certain due towards the maintenance of this bridge. And as the *French* Ambassador has often occasion to pass this way, his Master gives the town a pension of twenty pound sterling, which makes them extremely industrious to raise all the men they can for his service, and keeps this powerful Republick firm to the *French* interest. You may be sure the preserving of the bridge, with the regulation of the dues arising [2] from it, is the grand affair that cuts out employment for the several councils of State. They have a small village belonging to them,[3] whither they punctually send a Bailiff for the distribution of justice; in imitation still of the Great Cantons. There are three other towns that have the same privileges and protectors.

We dined the next day at *Zurich*, that is prettily situated on the outlet of the Lake, and is reckoned the handsomest town in *Switzerland*. The chief places shown [4] to strangers are the Arsenal, the Library, and the Town-house. This last is but lately finished, and is a very fine pile of building. The Frontispiece has pillars of a beautiful black marble streaked with white, which [5] is found in the neighbouring mountains. The chambers for the several Councils, with the other apartments are very [6] neat. The whole building is indeed so well designed, that it would make a good figure even in *Italy*. It is pity they have spoiled the beauty of the walls with abundance of childish *Latin* sentences, that consist often in a jingle of words. I have indeed observed in several inscriptions of this country, that your men of learning here are extremely delighted in playing little tricks with words and figures;

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] arising] that arise, 1705.
[3] belonging to them] that belongs to 'em, 1705.
[4] shown] that are shown, 1705.
[5] which] that, 1705.
[6] very] extreamly, 1705.

for your *Swiss* wits are not yet got out of Anagram and Acrostick. The Library is a very large room, pretty well filled. Over it is another room furnished with several artificial and natural curiosities. I saw in it a huge Map of the country [1] of *Zurich* drawn with a Pencil, where they see every particular fountain and hillock in their dominions. I ran over their cabinet of Medals, but do not [2] remember to have met with any in it that are extraordinary rare. The Arsenal is better than that of *Berne*, and they say has arms for thirty thousand men.

[3] At about a day's journey from *Zurich* we entered on the territories of the Abbot of St. *Gaul*. They are four hours riding in breadth, and twelve in length. The Abbot can raise in it an army of twelve thousand men well armed and exercised. He is soveraign of the whole country, and under the protection of the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *Glaris* and *Switz*. He is always chosen out of the Abby of *Benedictines* [4] at St. *Gaul*. Every Father and Brother of the convent has a voice in the election, which must afterwards be confirmed by the Pope. The last Abbot was Cardinal *Sfondrati*, who was advanced to the Purple about two years before his death. The Abbot takes the advice and consent of his Chapter before he enters on any matter of importance, as the levying of a tax, or declaring of a war. His chief Lay-Officer is the Grand *Maître d'Hôtel*, or High-steward of the houshold, who is named by the Abbot, and has the management of all affairs under him. There are several other Judges and distributers of justice appointed for the several parts of his dominions, from whom there always lyes an appeal to the Prince. His residence is generally at the *Benedictine* Convent at St. *Gaul*, notwithstanding the town of St. *Gaul* is a little Protestant Republick, wholly independent of the Abbot, and under the protection of the Cantons.

One would wonder to see so many rich Bourgeois in the town of St. *Gaul*, and so very few poor people in a place that has scarce any lands belonging to it, and little or no income but what arises from its trade. But the

[1] country] whole Country, 1705, 1718.
[2] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[3] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[4] *Benedictines*] *Benedictus*, 1705.

great support and riches of this little state is its Linnen manufacture, which employs almost all ages and conditions of its Inhabitants. The whole country about them,[1] furnishes them [1] with vast quantities of flax, out of which they are said to make yearly forty thousand pieces of linnen cloth, reckoning two hundred ells to the piece. Some of their manufacture is as finely wrought as any that can be met with in *Holland*; for they have excellent Artizans, and great commodities for whitening. All the fields about the town were so covered with their manufacture, that coming in the dusk of the evening we mistook them [1] for a lake. They send off their works upon Mules into *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the adjacent countries. They reckon in the town of St. *Gaul*, and in the houses that lye scattered about it, near ten thousand Souls, of which there are sixteen hundred Bourgeois. They chuse their Councils and Burgo-masters out of the body of the Bourgeois, as in the other governments of *Switzerland*, which are every where of the same nature, the difference lying only in the numbers of such as are employed in state-affairs, which are proportioned to the grandeur of the States that employ them.[1] The Abby and the Town bear [2] a great aversion to [3] one another; but in the general Diet of the Cantons their Representatives sit together, and act by concert. The Abbot deputes his *Grand Maître d'Hôtel*, and the Town one of its Burgo-masters.

[4] About four years ago the Town and Abby would have [5] come to an open rupture, had it not been timely prevented by the interposition of their common protectors. The occasion was this. A *Benedictine* Monk, in one of their annual processions, carried his Cross erected through the town with a train of three or four thousand Peasants following him. They had no sooner entered the Convent but the whole town was in a tumult, occasioned by the insolence of the Priest, who, contrary to all precedents, had presumed to carry his Cross in that manner. The Bourgeois immediately put themselves in arms, and drew down four pieces of their cannon to the gates of the Convent.

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] bear] have, 1705. [3] to] for, 1705.
[4] *No new paragraph in* 1705. [5] would have] had, 1705.

The procession to escape the fury of the citizens durst not return by the way it came, but after the devotions of the Monks were finished, passed out at a back-door of the Convent, that immediately led into the Abbot's territories. The Abbot on his part raises an army, blocks up the town on the side that faces his dominions, and forbids his subjects to furnish it with any of their commodities. While things were just ripe for a war, the Cantons, their protectors, interposed as Umpires in the quarrel, condemning the Town that had appeared too forward in the dispute to a fine of two thousand crowns; and enacting at the same time, that as soon as any procession entered their walls, the Priest should let the Cross hang about his neck without touching it with either hand, 'till he came within the precincts of the Abby. The Citizens could bring into the field near two thousand men well exercised, and armed to the best advantage, with which they fancy they could make head against twelve or fifteen thousand Peasants, for so many the Abbot could easily raise in his territories. But the Protestant subjects of the Abby, who [1] they say make up a good third of its people, would probably, in case of a war, abandon the cause of their Prince for that of their Religion. The town of St. *Gaul* has an Arsenal, Library, Town-houses, and Churches, proportionable to the bigness of the State. It is well enough fortified to resist any sudden attack, and to give the Cantons time to come to their assistance. The Abby is by no means so magnificent as one would expect from its endowments. The Church is one huge Nef with a double Aisle to it. At each end is a large Quire. The one of them [2] is supported by vast pillars of stone, cased over with a composition that looks the most like marble of any thing one can imagine. On the cieling and walls of the church are lists of Saints, Martyrs, Popes, Cardinals, Arch-bishops, Kings, and Queens, that have been of the *Benedictine* order. There are several pictures of such as have been distinguished by their Birth, Sanctity, or Miracles, with inscriptions that let you into the name and history of the persons represented. I have often wished

[1] who] which, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.

that some traveller would take the pains to gather all[1] the modern Inscriptions which[2] are to be met with in *Roman* Catholick countries, as *Gruter* and others have copyed out the ancient Heathen monuments. Had we two or three volumes of this nature, without any of the collector's own reflections, I am sure there is nothing in the world could give a clearer[3] Idea of the *Roman* Catholick religion, nor expose more the pride vanity and self-interest of Convents, the abuse of Indulgencies, the folly and impertinence of Votaries, and in short the superstition, credulity, and childishness, of the *Roman* Catholick religion. One might fill several sheets at St. *Gaul*, as there are few considerable Convents or Churches that would not afford large contributions.

As the King of *France* distributes his pensions through all the parts of *Switzerland*, the Town and Abby of St. *Gaul* come in too for their share. To the first he gives five hundred crowns *per Annum*, and to the other a thousand. This pension has not been paid these three years, which they attribute to their not acknowledging the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*. The Town and Abby of St. *Gaul* carry a Bear for their arms. The *Roman* Catholicks have this Bear's memory in very great veneration, and represent him as the first convert their Saint made in the country. One of the most learned[4] of the *Benedictine* Monks gave me the following history of him, which he delivered to me with tears of affection in his eyes. "St. "*Gaul*, it seems, whom they call the great Apostle of *Ger-* "*many*, found all this country little better than a vast "desart. As he was walking in it on a very cold day he "chanced to meet a Bear in his way. The Saint, instead "of being startled at the rencounter, ordered the Bear "to bring him a bundle of wood, and make him a fire. "The Bear served him to the best of his ability, and at his "departure was commanded by the Saint to retire into "the very depth of the woods, and there to pass the rest "of his life without ever hurting man or beast. From "this time, says the Monk, the Bear lived irreproachably,

[1] all] together all, 1705, 1718.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] clearer] truer, 1705, 1718.
[4] most learned] learnedst, 1705.

" and observed to his dying day the orders that the " Saint had given him.[1]

I have often considered, with a great deal of pleasure, the profound peace and tranquillity that reigns in *Switzerland* and its alliances. It is very wonderful to see such a knot of governments, which [2] are so divided among themselves in matters of religion, maintain so uninterrupted an union and correspondence, that no one of them [3] is for invading the rights of another, but remains content within the bounds of its first establishment. This, I think, must be chiefly ascribed to the nature of the people, and the constitution of their governments. Were the *Swiss* animated by zeal or ambition, some or other of their States would immediately break in upon the rest; or were the States so many Principalities, they might often have an ambitious Soveraign at the head of them,[3] that would embroil his neighbours, and sacrifice the repose of his subjects to his own glory. But as the Inhabitants of these countries are naturally of a heavy phlegmatick temper, if any of their leading members have more fire and spirit than comes to their share, it is quickly tempered by the coldness and moderation of the rest who sit at the helm with them.[3] To this we may add, that the *Alpes* is the worst spot of ground in the world to make conquests in, a great part of its governments being so naturally intrenched among woods and mountains. However it be, we find no such disorders among them [3] as one would expect in such a multitude of States; for as soon as any publick rupture happens, it is immediately closed up by the moderation and good offices of the rest that interpose.

As all the considerable governments among the *Alpes* are Commonwealths, so indeed it is a constitution the most adapted of any other to the poverty and barrenness of these countries. We may see only in a neighbouring government the ill consequences of having a despotic Prince, in a state that is most of it composed of rocks and mountains; for notwithstanding there is a vast extent of lands, and many of them [3] better than those of the *Swiss*

[1] St. *Gaul*, it seems, . . . given him.] *Printed without quotation marks in* 1705, 1718.

[2] which] that, 1705. [3] them] 'em, 1705.

and *Grisons*, the common people among the latter are much more at their ease, and in a greater affluence of all the conveniences of life. A Prince's court eats too much into the income of a poor State, and generally introduces a kind of luxury and magnificence, that sets every particular person upon making a higher figure in his station than is consistent [1] with his revenue.

It is the great endeavour of the several Cantons of *Switzerland*, to banish from among them every thing that looks like pomp or superfluity. To this end the Ministers are always preaching, and the Governors putting out Edicts against dancing, gaming, entertainments, and fine cloaths. This is become more necessary in some of the governments, since there are so many Refugees settled among them; for though the Protestants in *France* affect ordinarily a greater plainness and simplicity of manners, than those of the same quality who [2] are of the *Roman* Catholick Communion, they have however too much of their country-gallantry for the genius and constitution of *Switzerland*. Should dressing, feasting, and balls, once get among the Cantons, their military roughness would be quickly lost, their tempers would grow too soft for their climate, and their expences out-run their incomes; besides that the materials for their luxury must be brought from other nations, which would immediately ruine a country that has few commodities of its own to export, and is not over-stocked with mony. Luxury indeed wounds a Republick in its very vitals, as its natural consequences are rapine, avarice, and injustice; for the more mony a man spends, the more must he endeavour to augment his stock; which at last sets the liberty and votes of a Common-wealth to sale, if they find any foreign Power that is able to pay the price of them.[3] We see no where the pernicious effects of luxury on a Republick more than in that of the ancient *Romans*, who immediately found it self poor as soon as this vice got footing among them,[3] though they were possessed of all the riches in the world. We find in the beginnings and increases of their Common-wealth

[1] consistent] generally consistent, 1705, 1718.
[2] who] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.

strange instances of the contempt of mony, because indeed they were utter strangers to the pleasures that might be procured by it; or in other words, because they were wholly ignorant of the arts of luxury. But as soon as they once entered into a taste of pleasure, politeness, and magnificence, they fell into a thousand violences, conspiracies, and divisions, that threw them [1] into all the disorders imaginable, and terminated in the utter subversion of the Common-wealth. It is no wonder therefore the [2] poor Common-wealths of *Switzerland* are ever labouring at the suppressing [3] and prohibition of every thing that may introduce vanity and luxury. Besides [4] the several fines that are set upon Plays, Games, Balls and Feastings, they have many customs among them [1] which [5] very much contribute to the keeping up of their ancient simplicity. The Bourgeois, who [6] are at the head of the governments, are obliged to appear at all their publick assemblies in a black Cloak and a Band. The womens dress is very plain, those of the best quality wearing nothing on their heads generally but Furs, which [5] are to be met with in their own country. The persons of different qualities in both sexes are indeed allowed their different ornaments, but these are generally such as are by no means costly, being rather designed as marks of distinction than to make a figure. The chief Officers of *Berne*, for example, are known by the Crowns of their hats, which are much deeper than those of an inferior character. The peasants are generally cloathed in a course kind of Canvas, that is the manufacture of the country. Their holy-day cloaths go from Father to Son, and are seldom worn out, 'till the second or third generation: So that it is common enough [7] to see a countryman in the Doublet and Breeches of his Great-grand-father.

Geneva is much politer than *Switzerland*, or any of its allies, and is therefore looked upon as the Court of the *Alpes*, whither the Protestant Cantons often send their children to improve themselves in language and education. The *Genevois* have been very much refined, or, as others will

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] the] that the, 1705.
[3] suppressing] Suppression, 1705.
[4] Besides] Beside, 1718.
[5] which] that, 1705.
[6] who] that, 1705.
[7] common enough] a common thing, 1705.

have it, corrupted by the conversation of the *French* Protestants, who make up almost a third of their People. It is certain they have very much forgotten the advice that *Calvin* gave them [1] in a great Council a little before his death, when he [2] recommended to them,[1] above all things, an exemplary modesty and humility, and as great a simplicity in their manners as in their religion. Whether or no they have done well, to set up for making another kind of figure, Time will witness. There are several that fancy the great sums they have remitted into *Italy*, though by this means they make their court to the King of *France* at present,[3] may some time or other give him inclination [4] to become the master of so wealthy a city.

[5]As this collection of little States abounds more in pasturage than in corn, they are all provided with their publick granaries, and have the humanity to furnish one another in publick exigencies, when the scarcity is not universal. As the administration of affairs relating [6] to these publick granaries is not very different in any of the particular governments, I shall content my self to set down the rules observed [7] in it by the little Common-wealth of *Geneva*, in which I had more time to inform my self of the particulars than in any other. There are three of the Little Council deputed for this office. They are obliged to keep together a provision sufficient to feed the people at least two years, in case of war or famine. They must take care to fill their magazines in times of the greatest plenty, that so they may afford cheaper,[8] and increase the publick revenue at a small expence of its members. None of the three managers must, upon any pretence, furnish the granaries from his own fields, that so they may have no temptation to pay too great a price, or put any bad corn upon the publick. They must buy up no corn growing [9] within twelve miles of *Geneva*, that so the filling their [10]

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] when he] who, 1705.
[3] though . . . at present] though they make their present Court to the King of France, 1705.
[4] inclination] an inclination, 1705, 1718. [5] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[6] relating] that relate, 1705. [7] observed] that are observed, 1705.
[8] cheaper] it at a cheaper price, 1705.
[9] growing] that grows, 1705. [10] their] of their, 1705, 1718.

magazines may not prejudice their market, and raise the price of their provisions at home. That such a collection of corn may not spoil in keeping, all the Inns and Publick-houses are obliged to furnish themselves out of it, by which means is raised the most considerable branch of the publick revenues; the corn being sold out at a much dearer rate than 'tis bought up. So that the greatest income of the Common-wealth, which[1] pays the pensions of most of its Officers and Ministers, is raised on strangers and travellers, or such of their own body as have mony enough to spend at Taverns and Publick-houses.

It is the custom in *Geneva* and *Switzerland* to divide their estates equally among all their children, by which means every one lives at his ease without growing dangerous to the Republick, for as soon as an overgrown estate falls into the hands of one that has many children, it is broken into so many portions as render the sharers of it rich enough, without raising them[2] too much above the level of the rest. This is absolutely necessary in these little Republicks, where the rich merchants live very much within their estates, and, by heaping up vast sums from year to year might become formidable to the rest of their fellow-citizens, and break the equality, which is so necessary in these kinds of governments, were there not means found out to distribute their wealth among several members of their Republick.[3] At *Geneva*, for instance, are merchants reckoned worth twenty hundred thousand crowns, though, perhaps, there is not one of them[2] who[4] spends to the value of five hundred pounds a year.

Though the Protestants and Papists know very well that it is their common interest to keep a steady neutrality in all the wars between the States of *Europe*, they cannot[5] forbear siding with a party in their discourse. The Catholicks are zealous for the *French* King, as the Protestants do not[6] a little glory in the riches, power, and good success of the *English* and *Dutch*, whom they look upon as the bulwarks of the Reformation. The Ministers, in particular, have often preached against such of their

[1] which] that, 1705.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] Republick] Common-wealth, 1705.
[4] who] that, 1705.
[5] cannot] can't, 1705.
[6] do not] don't, 1705.

fellow-subjects as enter into the troops of the *French* King; but so long as the *Swiss* see their interest in it, their poverty will always hold them [1] fast to his service. They have indeed the exercise of their religion, and their Ministers with them,[1] which is the more remarkable, because the very same Prince refused even those of the church of *England*, who [2] followed their Master to St. *Germains*, the publick exercise of their religion.

[3] Before I leave *Switzerland* I cannot [4] but observe, that the notion of Witchcraft reigns very much in this country. I have often been tired with accounts of this nature from very sensible men, who [2] are most of them [1] furnished with matters of fact which have happened, as they pretend, within the compass of their own knowledge. It is certain there have been many executions on this account, as in the Canton of *Berne* there were some put to death during my stay at *Geneva*. The people are so universally infatuated with the notion, that if a Cow falls sick, it is [5] ten to one but an old woman is clapt up in prison for it, and if the poor creature chance to think her self a witch, the [6] whole country is for hanging her up without mercy. One finds indeed the same humour prevail in most of the rocky barren parts of *Europe*. Whether it be that poverty and ignorance, which are generally the products of these countries, may really engage a wretch in such dark practices, or whether or no the same principles may not render the people too credulous, and perhaps too easy [7] to get rid of some of their unprofitable members.

A great affair that employs the *Swiss* politicks at present is the Prince of *Conti*'s succession to the Dutchess of *Nemours* in the government of *Neuf-Chatel*. The Inhabitants of *Neuf-Chatel* can by no means think of submitting themselves to a Prince who is a *Roman* Catholick, and a subject of *France*. They were very attentive to his conduct in the principality of *Orange*, which they did not question but he would rule with all the mildness and moderation imaginable, as it would be the best means in the world

[1] them] 'em, 1705. [2] who] that, 1705, 1718.
[3] *No new paragraph in* 1705. [4] cannot] can't, 1705. [5] it is] 'tis, 1705.
[6] witch, the] witch, or has anything like a Teat more than ordinary about her, the, 1705. [7] easy] willing, 1705.

to recommend him to *Neuf-Chatel.* But notwithstanding it was so much his interest to manage his Protestant subjects in the [1] country, and the strong assurances he had given them [2] in protecting them [2] in all their privileges, and particularly in the free exercise of their religion, he made over his Principality in a very little time for a sum of mony to the King of *France.* It is indeed generally believed the Prince of *Conti* would rather still have kept his title to *Orange,* but the same respect which [3] induced him to quit [4] this government, might at another time tempt him to give up that of *Neuf-Chatel* on the like conditions. The King of *Prussia* lays in his claim for *Neuf-Chatel,* as he did for the Principality of *Orange,* and it is [5] probable would be more acceptable to the Inhabitants than the other; but they are generally disposed to declare themselves a Free Common-wealth, after the death of the Dutchess of *Nemours,* if the *Swiss* will support them.[2] The Protestant Cantons seem much [6] inclined to assist them,[2] which they may very well do, in case the Dutchess dies whilst the King of *France* has his hands so full of business on all sides of him. It certainly very much concerns them [2] not to suffer the *French* King [7] to establish his Authority on this side mount *Jura,* and on the very borders of their country; but it is not easie to foresee what a round sum of mony, or the fear of a rupture with *France,* may do among a people who [8] have tamely suffered the *Franche Compté* to be seized on, and a Fort to be built within Cannon-shot of one of their Cantons.

There is a new sect sprung up in *Switzerland,* which [3] spreads very much in the Protestant Cantons. The professors of it call themselves *Pietists,* and as Enthusiasm carries men generally to the like extravagancies, they differ but little from several sectaries in other countries. They pretend in general to great refinements, as to what regards the practice of christianity, and to observe the following rules. To retire much from the conversation of the world. To sink themselves into an entire repose and

[1] the] that, 1705, 1718. [2] them] 'em, 1705. [3] which] that, 1705.
[4] induced . . . quit] made him quit, 1705. [5] it is] 'tis, 1705, 1718.
[6] much] very much, 1705.
[7] *French* King] King of *France,* 1705. [8] who] that, 1705.

tranquillity of mind. In this state of silence to attend the secret illapse and flowings in of the Holy Spirit, that may fill their minds with peace and consolation, joys or raptures. To favour all his secret intimations, and give themselves up entirely to his conduct and direction, so as neither to speak, move, or act, but as they find his impulse on their Souls. To retrench themselves within the conveniencies and necessities of life. To make a covenant with all their senses, so far as to shun the smell of a Rose or Violet, and to turn away their eyes from a beautiful prospect. To avoid, as much as is possible, what the world calls innocent pleasures, lest they should have their affections tainted by any sensuality, and diverted from the love of him who is to be the only comfort, repose, hope, and delight, of their whole beings. This sect prevails very much among [1] the Protestants of *Germany*, as well as those of *Switzerland*, and has occasioned several Edicts against it in the Dutchy of *Saxony*. The professors of it are accused of all the ill practices which [2] may seem to be the consequence of their principles, as that they ascribe the worst of actions, which their own vicious tempers throw them [3] upon, to the dictates of the holy Spirit; that both sexes under pretence of devout conversation visit one another at all hours, and in all places, without any regard to common decency, often making their religion a cover for their immoralities; and that the very best of them [3] are possessed with spiritual pride, and a contempt for all such as are not of their own sect. The *Roman* Catholicks, who reproach the Protestants for their breaking into such a multitude of religions, have certainly taken the most effectual way in the world for the keeping their flocks [4] together; I do not [5] mean the punishments they inflict on men's persons, which are commonly looked upon as the chief [6] methods by which they deter them [3] from breaking through the pale of the church, though certainly these lay a very great restraint on those of the *Roman* Catholick persuasion. But I take one great cause why there are so few sects in the church of *Rome*, to be the multitude of

[1] among] amongst, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] flocks] Flock, 1705.
[5] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.
[6] chief] great, 1705.

convents, with which they every where abound, that serve as receptacles for all those fiery zealots who [1] would set the church in a flame, were not they got together in these houses of devotion. All men of dark tempers, according to their degree of melancholy or enthusiasm, may find convents fitted to their humours, and meet with companions as gloomy as themselves. So that what the Protestants would call a Fanatick, is in the *Roman* Church a Religious of such or such an order; as I have been told of an *English* Merchant at *Lisbon*, who [1] after some great disappointments in the world was resolved to turn Quaker or Capuchin [2]; for, in the change of religion, men of ordinary understandings do not [3] so much consider the Principles, as the Practice of those to whom they go over.

From St. *Gaul* I took horse to the Lake of *Constance*, which [4] lyes at two leagues distance from it, and is formed by the entry of the *Rhine*. This is the only Lake in *Europe* that disputes for greatness with that of *Geneva*; it appears more beautiful to the eye, but wants the fruitful fields and vineyards that border upon the other. It receives its name from *Constance*, the chief town on its banks. When the Cantons of *Berne* and *Zurich* proposed, at a general Diet, the incorporating *Geneva* in the number of the Cantons, the *Roman* Catholick party, fearing the Protestant interest might receive by it too great a strengthning, proposed at the same time the incantoning of *Constance*, as a counterpoise; to which the Protestants not consenting, the whole project fell to the ground. We crossed the Lake to *Lindaw*, and in several parts of it observed abundance of little bubbles of Air, that came working upward from the very bottom of the Lake. The watermen told us, that they are observed always to rise in the same places, from whence they conclude them [5] to be so many springs that break out of the bottom of the Lake. *Lindaw* is an imperial town on a little Island that lyes at about three hundred paces from the firm land, to which it is joined by a huge bridge of wood. The Inhabitants were all in arms when we passed through it, being under great apprehensions of

[1] who] that, 1705.
[2] Capuchin] Capucin, 1705.
[3] men . . . not] Men don't, 1705, 1718.
[4] which] that, 1705.
[5] them] 'em, 1705.

the Duke of *Bavaria*, after his having fallen upon *Ulme* and *Memminghen*. They flatter themselves, that by cutting their Bridge they could hold out against his Army: but, in all probability, a shower of Bombs would quickly reduce the Bourgeois to surrender. They were formerly bombarded by *Gustavus Adolphus*. We were advised by our Merchants, by no means to venture our selves in the Duke of *Bavaria*'s country, so that we had the mortification to lose the sight of *Munich*, *Ausburg*, and *Ratisbon*, and were forced to take our way to *Vienna* through *Tirol*,[1] where we had very little to entertain us besides the natural face of the country.

TIROL, INSPRUCK, HALL, &c.

AFTER having coasted the *Alpes* for some time, we at last entered them [2] by a passage which [3] leads into the long valley of the *Tirol*, and following the course of the river *Inn* we came to *Inspruck*, that receives its name from this river, and is the capital City of the *Tirol*.

Inspruck is a handsome town, though not a great one, and was formerly the residence of the Arch-Dukes who were Counts of *Tirol*: The Palace where they used to keep their Court is rather convenient than magnificent. The great hall is indeed a very noble room, the walls of it are painted in *Fresco*, and represent the labours of *Hercules*. Many of them [2] look very finely, though a great part of the work has been cracked by earthquakes, which are very frequent in this country. There is a little wooden palace that borders on the other, whither the Court used to retire at the first shake of an earthquake. I saw here the largest Menage [4] that I have met with any where else. At one

[1] *Tirol*] the *Tirol*, 1705, 1718.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] Menage] Manege, 1705.

end of it is a great partition designed for an Opera. They showed us also a very pretty Theatre. The last Comedy that was acted on it was designed by the Jesuits for the entertainment of the Queen of the *Romans*, who passed this way from *Modena*[1] to *Vienna*. The compliment which the Fathers made her Majesty on this occasion was very particular, and did not a little expose them[2] to the raillery of the Court. For the Arms of *Hanover* being a Horse, the Fathers thought it a very pretty allusion to represent the Queen by *Bucephalus*, that would let no body get upon him but *Alexander* the Great. The wooden horse that acted this notable part is still to be seen behind the scenes. In one of the rooms of the palace which[3] is hung with the pictures of several illustrious persons, they showed us the portrait of *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, who was beheaded in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The gardens about the house are very large, but ill kept. There is in the middle of them[2] a beautiful Statue in Brass of an Arch-Duke *Leopold* on horseback. There are near it twelve other figures of Water-nymphs and River-gods well[4] cast, and as big as the life. They were designed for the ornaments of a Water-work, as one might easily make a great variety of Jetteaus at a small expence in a garden that has the river *Inn* running by its walls. The late Duke of *Lorrain* had this palace, and the government of the *Tirol*, assigned him by the Emperor, and his Lady the Queen Dowager of *Poland* lived here several years after the death of the Duke her Husband. There are covered galleries that lead from the palace to five different churches. I passed through a very long one which[3] reaches to the church of the *Capuchin*[5] Convent, where the Duke of *Lorrain* used often to assist at their midnight devotions. They showed us in this Convent the apartments of *Maximilian*, who was Arch-Duke and Count of *Tirol* about fourscore years ago. This Prince at the same time that he kept the government in his hands, lived in this Convent with all the rigor and austerity of a *Capuchin*.[5] His anti-chamber and room of audience are little square chambers wainscoated. His

[1] *Modena*] *Hanover*, 1705, 1718.
[2] them] 'em, 1705.
[3] which] that, 1705.
[4] well] that are well, 1705.
[5] *Capuchin*] *Capucin*, 1705, 1718.

private lodgings are three or four small rooms faced with a kind of fret-work, that makes them [1] look like little hollow caverns in a rock. They preserve this apartment of the Convent uninhabited, and show in it the Altar, Bed and Stove, as likewise a Picture and a Stamp of this devout Prince. The church of the *Franciscan* Convent is famous for the monument of the Emperor *Maximilian* the first, which [2] stands in the midst of it. It was erected to him by his Grand-son *Ferdinand* the first, who probably looked upon this Emperor as the founder of the *Austrian* greatness. For as by his own marriage he annexed the Low-countries to the House of *Austria*, so by matching his Son to *Joane* of *Arragon* he settled on his Posterity the Kingdom of *Spain*, and by the marriage of his Grand-son *Ferdinand* got into his Family the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. This monument is only honorary, for the Ashes of the Emperor lye elsewhere. On the top of it is a brazen figure of *Maximilian* on his knees, and on the sides of it a beautiful *Bas-relief* representing [3] the actions of this Prince. His whole History is digested into twenty four square pannels of sculpture in *Bas-relief*: The subject of two of them [1] is his confederacy with *Henry* the eighth, and the wars they made together upon *France*. On each side of this monument is a row of very noble brazen statues much bigger than the life, most of them [1] representing such as were some way or other related to *Maximilian*. Among the rest is one that the Fathers of the Convent tell us represents King *Arthur* the old *British* King. But what relation had that *Arthur* to *Maximilian?* I do not [4] question therefore but it was designed for Prince *Arthur*, elder Brother of *Henry* the eighth, who had espoused *Catharine*, Sister of *Maximilian*, whose divorce afterwards gave occasion to such signal revolutions in *England*. This church was built by *Ferdinand* the first. One sees in it a kind of offer at modern Architecture, but at the same time that the Architect has shown his dislike of the *Gothic* manner, one may see very well that in that age they were not, at least in this country, arrived at the knowledge

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] representing] that represents, 1705.
[4] do not] don't, 1705, 1718.

of the true way. The Portal, for example, consists of a Composite order unknown to the Ancients ; the ornaments indeed are taken from them,[1] but so put together that you see the Volutes of the *Ionic*, the Foliage of the *Corinthian*, and the Uovali of the *Doric* mixed without any regularity on the same Capital. So the Vault of the church, though broad enough, is encumbered with too many little Tricks in sculpture. It is indeed supported with single columns instead of those vast clusters of little pillars that one meets with in *Gothic* Cathedrals, but at the same time these columns are of no regular order, and at least twice too long for their diameter. There are other churches in the town, and two or three palaces which [2] are of a more modern make, and built with a good fancy. I was shown the little *Notredame* that is handsomly designed, and topped with a Cupola. It was made as an offering of gratitude to the Blessed Virgin, for having defended the country of the *Tirol* against the victorious arms of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who could not enter this part of the Empire after having over-run most of the rest. This temple was therefore built by the contributions of the whole country. At about half a league's distance from *Inspruck* stands the castle of *Amras*, furnished with a prodigious quantity of Medals, and many other sorts of rarities both in nature and art, for which I must refer the reader to Monsieur *Patin*'s account in his letter to the Duke of *Wirtemburg*, having my self had neither time or opportunity to enter into a particular examination of them.[1]

[3] From *Inspruck* we came to *Hall*, that lyes at a league distance on the same river. This place is particularly famous for its Salt-works. There are in the neighbourhood vast mountains of a transparent kind of rock not unlike Allum, extremely solid, and as piquant to the tongue as Salt it self. Four or five hundred men are always at work in the [4] mountains, where as soon as they have hewn down any quantities of the rock they let in their springs and reservoirs among their works. The water eats away and dissolves the particles of Salt which [2] are mixed in the stone, and is conveyed by long troughs and

[1] them] 'em, 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[4] the] these, 1705, 1718.

canals from the Mines to the town of *Hall*, where 'tis received in vast cisterns, and boil'd off from time to time.

They make after the rate of eight hundred loaves a week, each loaf four hundred pound weight. This would raise a great revenue to the Emperor, were there here such a tax on Salt as there is in *France*. At present he clears but two hundred thousand crowns a year, after having defrayed all the charges of working it. There are in *Switzerland*, and other parts of the *Alpes*, several of these quarries of Salt that turn to very little account, by reason of the great quantities of wood they consume.

[1] The Salt-works at *Hall* have a great convenience for fuel which [2] swims down to them [3] on the river *Inn*. This river, during its course through the *Tirol*, is generally shut up between a double range of mountains that are most of them [3] covered with woods of Fir-trees. Abundance of Peasants are employed in the hewing down of the largest of these trees, that, after they are barked and cut into shape, are tumbled down from the mountains into the stream of the river, which [2] carries them [3] off to the Salt-works. At *Inspruck* they take up vast quantities for the Convents and publick Officers, who have a certain portion of it allotted them [3] by the Emperor : The rest of it passes on to *Hall*. There are generally several hundred loads afloat ; for they begin to cut above twenty five leagues up the river above *Hall*, and there are other rivers that flow into the *Inn*, which bring in their contributions. These Salt-works, and a Mint that is established at the same place, have rendered this town, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the capital city, almost as populous as *Inspruck* it self. The design of this Mint is to work off part of the Metals which [2] are found in the neighbouring mountains ; where, as we were told, there are seven thousand men in constant employ. At *Hall* we took a boat to carry us to *Vienna*. The first night we lay at *Rottenburg*, where is [4] a strong castle above the town. Count *Serini* is still close prisoner in this castle, who, as they told us in the town, had lost his senses by his long

[1] *No new paragraph in* 1705.
[2] which] that, 1705.
[3] them] 'em, 1705.
[4] where is] where there is, 1705.

imprisonment and afflictions. The next day we dined at *Kuff-stain*, where there is a fortress on a high rock above the town almost inaccessible on all sides: This being a frontier place on the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, where we entered after about an hour's rowing from *Kuff-stain*. It was the pleasantest voyage in the world to follow the windings of this river *Inn* through such a variety of pleasing scenes as the course of it naturally led us. We had sometimes on each side us [1] a vast extent of naked rocks and mountains, broken into a thousand irregular steeps and precipices; in other places we saw a long forest of Fir-trees so thick set together, that it was impossible to discover any of the Soil they grew upon, and rising up so regularly one above another, as to give us the view of a whole wood at once. The time of the year, that had given the leaves of the trees so many different colours, compleated the beauty of the prospect. But as the materials of a fine landskip are not always the most profitable to the owner of them,[2] we met with but very little corn or pasturage for the proportion of earth that we passed through, the lands of the *Tirol* not being able to feed the Inhabitants. This long valley of the *Tirol* lyes enclosed on all sides by the *Alpes*, though its dominions shoot out into several branches that lye among the breaks and hollows of the mountains. It is governed by three Councils residing at *Inspruck*, one sits upon life and death, the other is for taxes and impositions, and a third for the common distributions of justice. As these courts regulate themselves by the orders they receive from the Imperial court, so in many cases there are appeals from them [2] to *Vienna*. The Inhabitants of the *Tirol* have many particular privileges above those of the other hereditary countries of the Emperor. For as they are naturally well fortified among their mountains, and at the same time border upon many different governments, as the *Grisons*, *Venetians*, *Swiss*, *Bavarians*, &c. a severe treatment might tempt them [2] to set up for a Republick, or at least throw themselves under the milder government of some of their neighbours: Besides that their country is poor, and that the Emperor draws consider-

[1] us] of us, 1705. [2] them] 'em, 1705.

able incomes out of his [1] Mines of Salt and Metal. They are these Mines that fill the country with greater numbers of people than it would be able to bear [2] without the importation of corn from foreign parts. The Emperor has Forts and Cittadels at the entrance of all the passes that lead into the *Tirol*, which are so advantagiously placed on [3] rocks and mountains, that they command all the vallies and avenues that lye about them.[4] Besides, that the country it self is cut into so many hills and inequalities, as would render it defensible by a very little army against a numerous enemy. It was therefore generally thought the Duke of *Bavaria* would not attempt the cutting off any succours that were sent to Prince *Eugene*; or the forcing his way through the *Tirol* into *Italy*. The river *Inn*, that had hitherto been shut up among mountains, passes generally through a wide open country during all its course through *Bavaria*, which is a voyage of two days, after the rate of twenty leagues a day.

[1] his] its, 1705, 1718.
[2] bear] support, 1705.
[3] on] upon, 1705, 1718.
[4] them] 'em, 1705.

Text : from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), collated with the first edition (1708).

The Present State of the War was first published in 1708. It does not seem to have been reprinted until Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), where the text of 1708 was given without material alteration.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WAR, AND THE *Necessity of an* Augmentation, *Considered.*

PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Essay has endeavoured to draw into one continued scheme the whole state of the present war, and the methods that appear to him the most proper for bringing it to a happy conclusion.

After having considered that the French *are the constant and most dangerous enemies to the* British *nation, and that the danger from them is now greater than ever, and will still increase till their present Union with* Spain *be broken, he sets forth the several advantages which this Union has already given* France, *and taken from* Great Britain, *in relation to the* West-Indies, *the woollen manufacture, the trade of the* Levant, *and the naval power of the two nations.*

He shews how these advantages will still rise higher after a peace, notwithstanding our present conquests, with new additions, should be confirmed to us; as well because the monarchy of Spain *would not be weakened by such concessions, as because no Guarantee could be found sufficient to secure them to us. For which reasons he lays it down as a fixt Rule, that no peace is to be made without an entire disunion of the* French *and* Spanish *Monarchies.*

That this may be brought about, he endeavours to prove from the progress we have already made towards it, and the successes we have purchased in the present war, which are very considerable if well pursued, but of no effect if we acquiesce in them.

In order to complete this disunion in which we have gone so far, he would not have us relie upon exhausting the French *Treasury, attempts on the* Spanish Indies, *Descents on* France, *but chiefly upon out-numbring them in troops,* France *being already drained of her best supplies, and the confederates*

masters of much greater forces for multitude and strength, both in men and horse, and provided with Generals of greater fame and abilities.

He then considers the wrong measures we have hitherto taken in making too small levies after a successful campaign, in regulating their number by that of the enemies forces, and hiring them of our confederates; shewing at the same time the inconveniences we suffer from such hired troops, and several advantages we might receive from employing those of our own nation.

He further recommends this augmentation of our forces, to prevent the keeping up a standing body of them in times of peace, to enable us to make an impression on the Enemy in the present posture of the war, and to secure our selves against a Prince, who is now at the head of a powerful army, and has not yet declared himself.

In the last place, he answers by several considerations those two popular objections, That we furnish more towards the war than the rest of the Allies, and That we are not able to contribute more than we do already.

These are the most material heads of the following Essay, in which there are many other subordinate reflections that naturally grow out of so copious a subject.

November, 1707.[1]

[1] November, 1707] Not in 1708.

THE

PRESENT STATE *of the* WAR,

AND THE

Necessity of an Augmentation, considered.

THE *French* are certainly the most implacable, and the most dangerous enemies of the *British* nation. Their form of government, their religion, their jealousy of the *British* power, as well as their prosecutions of commerce, and pursuits of universal Monarchy, will fix them for ever in their animosities and aversions towards us, and make them catch at all opportunities of subverting our constitution, destroying our religion, ruining our trade, and sinking the figure which we make among the nations of *Europe*: Not to mention the particular ties of honour that lie on their present King to impose on us a Prince, who must prove fatal to our country if he ever reigns over us.

As we are thus in a natural state of war, if I may so call it, with the *French* nation; it is our misfortune, that they are not only the most inveterate, but most formidable of our enemies; and have the greatest power, as well as the strongest inclination, to ruin us. No other state equals them in the force of their fleets and armies, in the nearness and conveniency of their situation, and in the number of friends and well-wishers, which, it is to be feared, they have among us.

For these reasons our wars with *France* have always

affected us in our most tender interests, and concerned us more than those we have had with any other nation; but I may venture to say, this Kingdom was never yet engaged in a war of so great consequence, as that which now lies upon our hands. Our All is at stake, and irretrievably lost, if we fail of success. At other times, if a war ended in a dishonourable peace, or with equal loss, we could comfort our selves with the hopes of a more favourable juncture, that might set the balance right, or turn it to our advantage. We had still the prospect of forming the same alliance, or perhaps strengthning it with new confederacies, and by that means of trying our fortune a second time, in case the injustice or ambition of the enemy forced us into the field. At present, if we make a drawn game of it, or procure but moderate advantages, we are in a condition which every *British* heart must tremble at the thought of. There are no second tryals, no wars in reserve, no new schemes of alliance to which we can have recourse. Should the *French* King be able to bear down such an united force as now makes head against him, at a time when *Spain* affords him no greater assistance; what will he do when the trade of the *Levant* lies at his mercy; when the whole kingdom of *Spain* is supplied with his manufactures, and the wealth of the *Indies* flows into his coffers; and, what is yet worse, when this additional strength must arise in all its particulars from a proportionable decay in the States that now make war upon him? It is no wonder therefore that our late King of glorious memory, who, by the confession of his greatest enemies, was a Prince that perfectly understood the interests of *Europe*, should in his last speech recommend to his Parliament the declaring war against *France* in those memorable words: *You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to your selves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the* English *nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.*

We have already a dreadful proof of the increase of power that accrues to *France* from its conjunction with *Spain*. So expensive a war as that which the *French*

Monarchy hath been carrying on in so many and so remote parts at once, must long since have drained and exhausted all its substance, had there not been several secret springs, that swelled their treasury from time to time, in proportion as the war has sunk it. The King's coffers have been often reduced to the lowest ebb, but have still been seasonably refreshed by frequent and unexpected supplies from the *Spanish America*. We hear indeed of the arrival but of very few ships from those parts; but as in every vessel there is stowage for immense treasures, when the cargo is pure Bullion, or merchandise of as great a value; so we find by experience they have had such prodigious sums of money conveyed to them by these secret chanels, that they have been enabled to pay more numerous armies, than they ever had on foot before; and that at a time when their trade fails in all its other branches, and is distressed by all the arts and contrivances of their neighbouring nations. During the last four years, by a modest computation, there have been brought into *Brest* above six millions of pounds sterling in bullion. What then shall we suppose wou'd be the effect of this correspondence with *America*, might the wealth of those parts come to them on squadrons of men of war, and fleets of galeons? If these little by-currents, that creep into the country by stealth, have so great a force, how shall we stem the whole torrent, when it breaks in upon us with its full violence? and this certainly will be our case, unless we find a means to dissolve the union between *France* and *Spain*. I have dwelt the longer on this consideration, because the present war hath already furnished us with the experiment, and sensibly convinced us of the increase of power, which *France* has received from its intercourse with the *Spanish West-Indies*.

As there are many who look upon every thing which they do not[1] actually see and feel as bare probability and speculation, I shall only touch on those other reasons of which we have already had[2] some experience, for our preventing this coalition of interests and designs in the two monarchies.

The Woollen manufacture is the *British* strength, the

[1] do not] don't, 1708. [2] already had] already also had, 1708.

staple commodity and proper growth of our country; if this fails us, our trade and estates must sink together, and all the cash of the nation be consumed on foreign merchandize. The *French* at present gain very much upon us in this great article of our trade, and since the accession of the *Spanish* monarchy, supply with cloth, of their own making, the very best mart we had in *Europe*. And what a melancholy prospect have we, if ever a peace gives them leave to enrich their manufacture with mixtures of *Spanish* wool to multiply the hands employed in it, to improve themselves in all the niceties of the art, and to vend their wares in those places where was the greatest consumption of our woollen works, and the most considerable gain for the *British* merchant. Notwithstanding our many seasonable recruits from *Portugal*, and our plantations, we already complain of our want of bullion; and must at last be reduced to the greatest exigencies, if this great source be dryed up, and our traffick with *Spain* continue under its present discouragement.

The trade of the *Levant* must likewise flourish or decay in our hands, as we are friends or enemies of the *Spanish* monarchy. The late conquest of *Naples* will very little alter the case, though *Sicily* should follow the fate of her sister kingdom. The *Streight*'s mouth is the key of the *Levant*, and will be always in the possession of those who are Kings of *Spain*. We may only add, that the same causes which straiten the *British* commerce, will naturally enlarge the *French*; and that the naval force of either nation will thrive or languish in the same degree as their commerce gathers or loses strength. And if so powerful and populous a nation as that of *France* become superior to us by sea, our whole is lost, and we are no more a people. The consideration of so narrow a channel betwixt us, of such numbers of regular troops on the enemy's side, of so small a standing force on our own, and that too in a country destitute of all such forts and strong places as might stop the progress of a victorious army, hath something in it so terrifying, that one does not care for setting it in its proper light. Let it not therefore enter into the heart of any one that hath the least zeal for his religion, or love of liberty, that hath any regard either to the honour or safety of his

country, or a well-wish for his friends or posterity, to think of a peace with *France*, till the *Spanish* monarchy be entirely torn from it, and the house of *Bourbon* disabled from ever giving the law to *Europe*.

Let us suppose that the *French* King would grant us the most advantageous terms we can desire; without the separation of the two monarchies they must infallibly end in our destruction. Should he secure to us all our present acquisitions; should he add two or three frontier-towns to what we have already in *Flanders*; should he join the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Milan* and *Naples*; should he leave King *Charles* in the peaceable possession of *Catalonia*; should he make over to *Great Britain* the town and harbour of *Cadiz*, as well as that of *Gibraltar*, and at the same time resign his conquests in *Portugal*; it would all be of no effect towards the common safety of *Europe*, while the bulk of the *Spanish* continent and the riches of *America* remain in the possession of the *Bourbon* family.

Boccalini when he weighs the States of *Europe* in his political balance, after having laid *France* in one scale, throws *Spain* into the other, which wanted but very little of being a counter-poise. The *Spaniards* upon this, says he, begun to promise themselves the honour of the ballance; reckoning that if *Spain* of it self weighed so well, they could not fail of success when the several parts of the monarchy were lumped in the same scale. Their surprise was very great when upon the throwing in of *Naples* they saw the scale rise, and was greater still when they found that *Milan* and *Flanders* had the same effect. The truth of it is, these parts of the *Spanish* monarchy are rather for ornament than strength. They furnish out Vice-royalties for the Grandees, and posts of honour for the noble families; but in a time of war are incumbrances to the main body of the kingdom, and leave it naked and exposed by the great number of hands they draw from it to their defence. Should we therefore continue in the possession of what we have already made our selves masters, with such additions as have been mentioned, we should have little more than the excrescencies of the *Spanish* monarchy. The strength of it will still join it self to

France, and grow the closer to it by its disunion from the rest. And in this case the advantages which must arise to that people from their intimate alliance with the remaining part of the *Spanish* dominions, would in a very few years not only repair all the damages they have sustained in the present war, but fill the kingdom with more riches than it hath yet had in its most flourishing periods.

The *French* King hath often entered on several expensive projects, on purpose to dissipate the wealth that is continually gathering in his coffers in times of peace. He hath employed immense sums on architecture, gardening, water-works, painting, statuary, and the like, to distribute his treasures among his people, as well as to humour his pleasures and his ambition: but if he once engrosses the commerce of the *Spanish Indies*, whatever quantities of gold and silver stagnate in his private coffers, there will be still enough to carry on the circulation among his subjects. By this means in a short space of time he may heap up greater wealth than all the Princes of *Europe* joined together; and in the present constitution of the world, wealth and power are but different names for the same thing. Let us therefore suppose that after eight or ten years of peace, he hath a mind to infringe any of his treaties, or invade a neighbouring State; to revive the pretensions of *Spain* upon *Portugal*, or attempt the taking those places which were granted us for our security; what resistance, what opposition can we make to so formidable an enemy? Should the same alliance rise against him that is now in war with him, what could we hope for from it, at a time when the States engaged in it will be comparatively weakened, and the enemy who is now able to keep them at a stand, will have received so many new accessions of strength.

But I think it is not to be imagined that in such a conjuncture as we here suppose, the same confederates, or any other of equal force, could be prevailed upon to join their arms, and endeavour at the pulling down so exorbitant a power. Some might be bought into his interests by money, others drawn over by fear, and those that are liable to neither of these impressions, might not think their

own interest so much concerned as in the present war; or if any appeared in a disposition to enter into such a confederacy, they might be crushed separately before they could concert measures for their mutual defence.

The keeping together of the present alliance can be ascribed to nothing else but the clear and evident conviction which every member of it is under, that if it should once break without having had its effect, they can never hope for another opportunity of reuniting, or of prevailing by all the joint efforts of such an union. Let us therefore agree on this as a fixt rule, and an inviolable maxim, never to lay down our arms against *France*, till we have utterly disjoyned her from the *Spanish* monarchy. Let this be the first step of a publick treaty, the basis of a general peace.

Had the present war indeed run against us, and all our attacks upon the enemy been vain, it might look like a degree of frenzy, or a mixture of obstinacy and despair, to be determined on so impracticable an undertaking. But on the contrary, we have already done a great part of our work, and are come within view of the end that we have been so long driving at. We remain victorious in all the seats of war. In *Flanders* we have got into our hands several open countries, rich towns, and fortified places. We have driven the enemy out of all his alliances, dispossessed him of his strong holds, and ruined his allies in *Germany*. We have not only recovered what the beginning of the war had taken from us, but possessed our selves of the kingdom of *Naples*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the [1] avenue of *France* in *Italy*. The *Spanish* war hath given us a haven for our ships, and the most populous and wealthy province of that kingdom. In short, we have taken all the outlying parts of the *Spanish* monarchy, and made impressions upon the very heart of it. We have beaten the *French* from all their advanced posts in *Europe*, and driven them into their last entrenchments. One vigorous push on all sides, one general assault will force the enemy to cry out for quarter, and surrender themselves at discretion. Another *Blenheim* or *Ramillies* will

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make the confederates masters of their own terms, and arbitrators of a peace.

But notwithstanding the advantages already gained are very considerable if we pursue them, they will be of no effect unless we improve them towards the carrying of our main point. The enemy staggers; if you follow your blow, he falls at your feet; but if you allow him respite, he will recover his strength, and come upon you with greater fury. We have given him several repeated wounds that have enfeebled him, and brought him low; but they are such as time will heal, unless you take advantage from his present weakness to redouble your attacks upon him. It was a celebrated part in *Cæsar*'s character, and what comes home to our present purpose, that he thought nothing at all was done, while any thing remained undone. In short, we have been tugging a great while against the stream, and have almost weathered our point; a stretch or two more will do the work; but if instead of that we slacken our arms, and drop our oars, we shall be hurried back in a moment to the place from whence we first set out.

After having seen the necessity of an entire separation of the kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, our subject naturally leads us into the consideration of the most proper means for effecting it.

We have a great while flattered our selves with the prospect of reducing *France* to our own terms by the want of money among the people, and the exigencies of the publick treasury; but have been still disappointed by the great sums imported from *America*, and the many new expedients which the Court hath found out for its relief. A long consumptive war is more likely to break the grand alliance, than disable *France* from maintaining sufficient armies to oppose it. An arbitrary government will never want money, so long as the people have it; and so active a people will always have it, whilst they can send what merchandises they please to *Mexico* and *Peru*. The *French* since their alliance with *Spain* keep thirty ships in constant motion between the western ports of *France* and the south seas of *America*. The King himself is an adventurer in this traffick, and besides the share that he receives out of the

gains of his subjects, has immense sums that come directly from it into his own hands.

We may further consider, that the *French* since their abandoning *Bavaria* and *Italy* have very much retrenched the expence of the war, and lay out among themselves all the money that is consumed in it.

Many are of opinion, that the most probable way of bringing *France* to reason would be by the making an attempt upon the *Spanish West-Indies*, and by that means to cut off all communication with this great source of riches, or turn the current of it into our own country. This I must confess carries so promising an appearance, that I would by no means discourage the attempt: but at the same time I think it should be a collateral project, rather than our principal design. Such an undertaking (if well concerted, and put into good hands) would be of infinite advantage to the common cause: but certainly an enterprise that carries in it the fate of *Europe*, should not turn upon the uncertainty of winds and waves, and be liable to all the accidents that may befal a naval expedition.

Others there are that have long deceived themselves with the hopes of an insurrection in *France*, and are therefore for laying out all our strength on a descent. These, I think, do not enough consider the natural love which the gross of mankind have for the constitution of their fathers. A man that is not enlightened by travel or reflexion, grows as fond of arbitrary power, to which he hath been used from his infancy, as of cold climates or barren countries, in which he hath been born and bred. Besides, there is a kind of sluggish resignation, as well as poorness and degeneracy of spirit, in a state of slavery, that we meet with but very few who will be at the pains or danger of recovering themselves out of it; as we find in history instances of persons who after their prisons have been flung open, and their fetters struck off, have chosen rather to languish in their dungeons, than stake their miserable lives and fortunes upon the success of a revolution. I need not instance the general fate of descents, the difficulty of supplying men and provisions by sea against an enemy that hath both at hand, and without which it

is impossible to secure those conquests that are often made in the first onsets of an invasion. For these and other reasons I can never approve the nursing up commotions and insurrections in the enemy's country, which for want of the necessary support are likely to end in the massacre of our friends and the ruin of their families.

The only means therefore for bringing *France* to our conditions, and what appears to me, in all human probability, a sure and infallible expedient, is to throw in multitudes upon them,[1] and overpower them [1] with numbers. Would the confederacy exert it self as much to annoy the enemy, as they themselves do for [2] their defence, we might bear them down with the weight of our armies, and in one summer overset the whole power of *France*.

The *French* monarchy is already exhausted of its best and bravest subjects. The flower of the nation is consumed in its wars : the strength of their armies consists at present of such as have saved themselves by flight from some or other of the victorious confederates ; and the only proper persons to recruit them are but the refuse of those who have been already picked out for the service. Mareschal *de Vauban*, though infinitely partial in his calculations of the power of *France*, reckons that the number of its inhabitants was two millions less at the peace of *Ryswick*, than in the beginning of the war that was there concluded : and though that war continued nine years, and this hath as yet lasted but six, yet considering that their armies are more strong and numerous ; that there hath been much more action in the present war ; and that their losses sustained in it have been very extraordinary ; we may, by a moderate computation, suppose that the present war hath not been less prejudicial than the foregoing one in the ravage which it has made among the people. There is in *France* so great a disproportion between the number of males and females ; and among the former, between those who are capable of bearing arms, and such as are too young, sickly, or decrepit for the service ; and at the same time such vast numbers of Ecclesiasticks, secular and religious, who live upon the labours of others, that when the several trades and professions are supplied, you will find most of

[1] them] 'em, 1708. [2] themselves do for] themselves for, 1708.

those that are proper for war absolutely necessary for filling up the laborious part of life, and carrying on the underwork of the nation. They have already contributed all their superfluous hands, and every new levy they make must be at the expence of their farms and vineyards, their manufactures and commerce.

On the contrary, the grand Alliance have innumerable sources of recruits, not only in *Britain* and *Ireland*, the *United Provinces*, and *Flanders*; but in all the populous parts of *Germany* that have little trade or manufactures, in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. We may add, that the *French* have only *Switzerland*, besides their own country, to recruit in; and we know the difficulties they meet with in getting thence a single regiment: whereas the Allies have not only the same resource, but may be supplied for mony from *Denmark* and other neutral States. In short, the Confederates may bring to the field what forces they please, if they will be at the charge of them[1]: but *France*, let her wealth be what it will, must content herself with the product of her own country.

The *French* are still in greater streights for supplies of horse than men. The breed of their country is neither so good nor numerous as what are to be found in most of the countries of the Allies. They had last summer about threescore thousand in their several armies, and could not perhaps bring into the field thirty thousand more, if they were disposed to make such an augmentation.

The *French* horse are not only few, but weak in comparison of ours. Their cavalry in the battle of *Blenheim* could not sustain the shock of the *British* horse. For this reason our late way of attacking their troops sword in hand is very much to the advantage of our nation, as our men are more robust, and our horses of a stronger make than the *French*; and in such attacks it is the weight of the forces, supposing equal courage and conduct, that will always carry it. The *English* strength turned very much to account in our wars against the *French* of old, when we used to gall them with our long bows, at a greater distance than they could shoot their arrows: this advantage we lost upon the invention of fire-arms, but by the present

[1] them] 'em, 1708.

method our strength as well as bravery may again be of use to us in the day of battle.

We have very great encouragement to send what numbers we are able into the field, because our Generals at present are such as are likely to make the best use of them, without throwing them away on any fresh [1] attempts or ill-concerted projects. The Confederate armies have the happiness of being commanded by persons who are esteemed the greatest leaders of the present age, and are perhaps equal to any that have preceded them. There is a sort of resemblance in their characters; a particular sedateness in their conversation and behaviour, that qualifies them for council, with a great intrepidity and resolution that fits them for action. They are all of them men of concealed fire, that doth not break out with noise and heat in the ordinary circumstances of life; but shews it self sufficiently in all great enterprises that require it. It is [2] true, the General upon the *Rhine* hath not had the same occasions as the others to signalize himself; but if we consider the great vigilance, activity and courage, with the consummate prudence, and the nice sense of honour which appears in that Prince's character, we have great reason to hope, that as he purchased the first success in the present war, by forcing into the service of the Confederates an army that was raised against them in the very heart of the Empire, he will give one of the finishing strokes to it, and help to conclude the great work which he so happily begun. The sudden check that he gave to the *French* army the last campaign, and the good order he established in that of the *Germans*, look like happy presages of what we may expect from his conduct. I shall not pretend to give any character of the Generals on the enemies side; but I think we may say this, that in the eyes of their own nation they are inferior to several that have formerly commanded the *French* armies. If then we have greater numbers than the *French*, and at the same time better Generals, it must be our own fault if we will not reap the fruit of such advantages.

It would be loss of time to explain any further our superiority to the enemy in numbers of men and horse.

[1] fresh] Rash, 1708. [2] It is] 'Tis, 1708.

We see plainly that we have the means in our hands, and that nothing but the application of them is wanting. Let us only consider what use the enemy would make of the advantage we have mentioned, if it fell on their side; and is it not very strange that we should not be as active and industrious for our security, as they would certainly be for our destruction? But before we consider more distinctly the method we ought to take in the prosecution of the war, under this particular view, let us reflect a little upon those we have already taken in the course of it for these six years past.

The Allies after a successful summer are too apt, upon the strength of it, to neglect their preparations for the ensuing campaign, while the *French* leave no art nor stratagem untried to fill up the empty spaces of their armies, and swell them [1] to an equal bulk with those of the Confederates. By this means our advantage is lost, and the fate of *Europe* brought to a second decision. It is now become an observation, that we are to expect a very indifferent year after a very successful one. *Blenheim* was followed by a summer that makes no noise in the war. *Ramillies*, *Turin*, and *Barcelona*, were the parents of our last campaign. So many dreadful blows alarmed the enemy, and raised their whole country up in arms. Had we on our side made proportionable preparations, the war by this time had been brought to a happy issue. If after having gained the great victories of *Blenheim* and *Ramillies*, we had made the same efforts as we should have done had we lost them, the power of *France* could not have withstood us.

In the beginning of the winter we usually get what intelligence we can of the force which the enemy intends to employ in the campaigns of the succeeding year, and immediately cast about for a sufficient number of troops to face them in the field of battle. This, I must confess, would be a good method if we were engaged in a defensive war. We might maintain our ground with an equal number of forces; but our business is not only to secure what we are already in possession of; we are to wrest the whole *Spanish*

[1] them] 'em, 1708.

Monarchy out of the hands of the enemy; and in order to it, to work our way into the heart of his country by dint of arms. We should therefore put forth all our strength, and without having an eye to his preparations, make the greatest push that we are able on our own side. We are told that the enemy at present thinks of raising threescore thousand men for the next summer; if we regulate our levies in that view, we do nothing; let us perform our utmost, as they do, and we shall overwhelm them [1] with our multitudes. We have it in our power at least to be four times as strong as the *French*, but if ten men are in war with forty, and the latter detach only an equal number to the engagement, what benefit do they receive from their superiority?

It seems therefore to be the business of the Confederates to turn to their advantage their apparent odds in men and horse; and by that means to out-number the enemy in all rencounters and engagements. For the same reason it must be for the interest of the Allies to seek all opportunities of battle, because all losses on the opposite side are made up with infinitely more difficulty than on ours; besides that the *French* do their business by lying still, and have no other concern in the war than to hold fast what they have already got into their hands.

The miscarriage of the noblest project that ever was formed in *Europe*, can be ascribed to nothing else but our want of numbers in the several quarters of the war. If our armies on all sides had begun to busie and insult the enemy, at the same time that the forces marched out of *Piemont*, *Toulon* had been at present in the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*. But could that Prince ever have imagined that the *French* would have been at liberty to detach whole armies against him? or will it appear credible to posterity, that in a war carried on by the joint force of so many populous and powerful nations, *France* could send so great a part of its troops to one seat of the war, without suffering in any of the rest? Whereas it is well known, that if the Duke of *Savoy* had continued before *Toulon* eight days longer, he had been attacked by an army of sixty thousand men, which was more than double the

[1] them] 'em, 1708.

number of his own; and yet the enemy was strong enough every where else to prevent the Confederates from making any impression upon them. However, let us fall into the right measures, and we may hope that the stroke is only deferred. The Duke of *Savoy* hath secured a passage into *Dauphiny*, and if the Allies make such efforts in all parts, as we may reasonably expect from them, that Prince may still make himself Master of the *French* dominions on the other side of the *Rhone*.

There is another part of our conduct which may perhaps deserve to be considered. As soon as we have agreed with the States General upon any augmentation of our forces, we immediately negotiate with some or other of the *German* Princes, who are in the same confederacy, to furnish out our quota in Mercenaries. This may be doubly prejudicial to the alliance; First, as it may have an ill influence on the resolutions of those Princes in the Diet of the Empire, who may be willing to settle as small a quota as they can for themselves, that they may have more troops to hire out; and in the next place, as it may hinder them from contributing the whole quota which they have settled. This actually happened in the last campaign, when we are told the *Germans* excused themselves for their want of troops upon the *Rhine*, as having already put most of their forces into the *British* and *Dutch* service. Such an excuse, indeed, is very unjust, but it would be better to give them no occasion of making it; and on such occasions to consider what men are apt to do, as well as what they may do with reason.

It might therefore be for our advantage that all the foreign troops in the *British* pay should be raised in neutral countries. *Switzerland* in particular, if timely applied to, might be of great use to us; not only in respect of the reinforcements which we might draw from thence, but because such a draught of forces would lessen the number of those that might otherwise be employed in the *French* service. The bulk of our levies should nevertheless be raised in our own country, it being impossible for neutral[1] States to furnish both the *British* and *Dutch* with a sufficient number of effective men; besides that the *British* soldiers will be more at the disposal of their General, and act with

[1] for neutral] for the Neutral, 1708.

greater vigour under the conduct of one for whom they have so just a value, and whom they do not consider only as their leader, but as their country-man. We may likewise suppose that the soldiers of a neutral state, who are not animated by any national interest, cannot fight for pay with the same ardour and alacrity, as men that fight for their Prince and country, their wives and children.

It may likewise be worth while to consider whether the military Genius of the *English* nation may not fall by degrees, and become inferior to that of our neighbouring states, if it hath no occasion to exert it self. Minds that are altogether set on trade and profit, often contract a certain narrowness of temper, and at length become uncapable of great and generous resolutions. Should the *French* ever make an unexpected descent upon us, we might want soldiers of our own growth to rise up in our defence; and might not have time to draw a sufficient number of troops to our relief from the remote corners of *Germany*. It is generally said, that if King *Charles* II. had made war upon *France* in the beginning of his reign, he might have conquered it by the many veterans which were scattered up and down this kingdom, and had been inured to service in the civil wars. It is to be hoped we shall never have such another nursery of soldiers; but if the present war gives a more military turn to all other nations of *Europe*, than to our own, it is to be feared we may lose in strength, what we gain in number. We may apply the same consideration nearer home. If all our levies are made in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, may not those two parts of the *British* monarchy, after the disbanding of the present army, be too powerful for the rest, in case of a revolt? though, God be thanked, we are not in any danger of one at present. However, as these considerations do not[1] concern the more essential part of our design, it is sufficient to have mentioned them.

The sparing of our selves in so important a conjuncture, when we have but this single opportunity left for the preserving every thing that is precious amongst us, is the worst sort of management that we can possibly fall into.

[1] do not] don't, 1708.

The good husbandry of one age may intail an endless expence upon all posterity. We must venture the sacrificing a part of our lives and fortunes at present, if we will effectually secure both for the future. The *British* Kingdom is so well stock'd with people, and so much abounds in horse, that we have power enough in our own hands, did we make our utmost use of it, to humble *France*, and in a campaign or two to put an end to the war.

There is not a more disagreeable thought to the people of *Great Britain* than that of a standing army. But if a peace be made before the disunion of *France* and *Spain*, there are few, perhaps, that will not think the maintaining a settled body of numerous forces indispensable for the safety of our country. We have it therefore in our choice to raise such a strong reinforcement of troops as at present may be sufficient, in conjunction with those of the allies, for breaking the strength of the enemy; or when the peace is concluded, to keep on foot such an army as will be necessary for preventing his attempts upon us.

It is to be hoped that those who would be the most zealous against keeping up a constant body of regular troops after a general peace, will the most distinguish themselves for the promoting an augmentation of those which are now on foot; and by that means take care that we shall not stand in need of such an expedient.

We are indeed obliged by the present situation of our affairs to bring more troops into the field than we have yet done. As the *French* are retired within their lines, and have collected all their strength into a narrow compass, we must have greater numbers to charge them in their intrenchments, and force them to a battle. We saw the last campaign that an army of fourscore thousand of the best troops in *Europe*, with the Duke of *Marlborough* at the head of them, could do nothing against an enemy that were too numerous to be assaulted in their camps, or attacked in their strong holds.

There is another consideration which deserves our utmost attention. We know very well, that there is a Prince at the head of a powerful army, who may give a turn to the war, in which we are engaged, if he thinks fit to side with either party. I cannot presume to guess how

far our ministers may be informed of his designs: but unless they have very strong assurances of his falling in with the grand alliance, or not opposing it; they cannot be too circumspect and speedy in taking their precautions against any contrary resolution. We shall be unpardonable, if after such an expence of blood and treasure, we leave it in the power of any single Prince to command a peace, and make us accept what conditions he thinks fit. It is certain, according to the posture of our affairs in the last campaign, this Prince could have turn'd the ballance on either side; but it is to be hoped the liberties of *Europe* will not depend any more on the determination of one man's will. I do not [1] speak this because I think there is any appearance of that Prince's uniting himself to *France*. On the contrary, as he hath an extraordinary zeal for the reformed religion, and great sentiments of honour, I think it is not improbable we should draw him over to the confederacy, if we press him to it by proper motives. His love for religion, and his sense of glory, will both have their effect on a Prince who hath already distinguished himself by being a patron of protestants, and guarantee of the *Westphalian* treaty. And if his interest hath any part in his actions, the Allies may make him greater offers than the *French* King can do in the present conjuncture. There are large extents of dominion in the forfeited principalities of the Empire; doubtful successions, to which the King of *Sweden* seems to have very just pretensions; and at the same time a great title not yet disposed of, and a seat of war on the *Moselle*, where none of our generals have signalized themselves. It would be presumption to be particular in any proposals on such an occasion; it is enough to have shewn in general, that there are fair opportunities, of which the wisdom of the confederates may make use.

Common sense will direct us, when we see so warlike a Prince at the head of so great an army hovering on the borders of our confederates, either to obtain his friendship, or secure our selves against the force of his arms. We are sure, whatever numbers of troops we raise, we shall have

[1] do not] don't, 1708.

no hands but what will turn to account. Nay, we are certain, that extraordinary funds and augmentations for one or two campaigns may spare us the expence of many years, and put an end to taxes and levies for a whole age; whereas a long parsimonious war will drain us of more men and money, and in the end may prove ineffectual.

There is still a great popular objection, which will be made to every thing that can be urged on this subject. And indeed it is [1] such a one as falls so much in with the prejudices and little passions of the multitude, that when it is turned and set off to advantage by ill-designing men, it throws a damp on the publick spirit of the nation, and gives a check to all generous resolutions for its honour and safety. In short, we are to be told, that *England* contributes much more than any other of the Allies, and that therefore it is not reasonable she should make any addition to her present efforts. If this were true in fact, I do not [2] see any tolerable colour of [3] such a conclusion. Supposing among a multitude embarqued in the same vessel, there are several that in the fury of a tempest will rather perish than work for their preservation; would it not be madness in the rest to stand idle, and rather chuse to sink together than do more than comes to their share? Since we are engaged in a work so absolutely necessary for our welfare, the remisness of our Allies should be an argument for us to redouble our endeavours rather than slacken them. If we must govern our selves by example, let us rather imitate the vigilance and activity of the common enemy, than the supineness and negligence of our friends.

We have indeed a much greater share in the war than any other part of the confederacy. The *French* King makes at us directly, keeps a King by him to set over us, and hath very lately augmented the salary of his court, to let us see how much he hath that design at his heart.[4] Few of the nations in war with him, should they ever fall into his hands, would lose their religion or form of government, or interfere at present with him in matters of commerce. The *Dutch*, who are likely to be the greatest losers

[1] it is] 'tis, 1708.
[2] do not] don't, 1708.
[3] of] for, 1708.
[4] at his heart] at heart, 1708.

after the *Britains*, have but little trade to the *Levant* in comparison with ours, have no considerable plantations or commerce in the *West-Indies*, or any woollen-manufactures for *Spain*; not to mention the strong barrier they have already purchased between *France* and their own country.

But after all, every nation in the confederacy makes the same complaint, and fancies it self the greatest sufferer by the war. Indeed in so common a pressure, let the weight be never so equally distributed, every one will be most sensible of that part which lies on his own shoulders. We furnish, without dispute, more than any other branch of the alliance: but the question is, whether others do not exert themselves in proportion according to their respective strength. The Emperor, the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hannover*, as well as the States of *Holland* and the Duke of *Savoy*, seem at least to come up to us. The greatest powers in *Germany* are borrowing mony where they can get it, in order to maintain their stated Quota's, and go thorough their part of the expence; and if any of the Circles have been negligent, they have paid for it much more in their late contributions, than what would have furnished out their shares [1] in the common charges of the war.

There are others who will object the poverty of the nation, and the difficulties it would find in furnishing greater supplies to the war than it doth at present. To this we might answer, that if the nation were really as poor as this objection makes it, it should be an argument for enforcing rather than diminishing our present efforts against *France*. The sinking our taxes for a few years would be only a temporary relief, and in a little time occasion far greater impositions, than those which are now laid upon us. Whereas the seasonable expence of part of our riches, will not only preserve the rest; but by the right use of them procure vast additions to our present stock. It may be necessary for a person languishing under an ill habit of body to lose several ounces of blood, notwithstanding it will weaken him for a time, in order to put a new ferment into the remaining mass, and draw into it fresh supplies.

[1] shares] share, 1705.

But we can by no means make this concession, to those who so industriously publish the nation's poverty. Our country is not only rich, but abounds in wealth much more than any other of the same extent in *Europe*. *France*, notwithstanding the goodness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the multitude of its inhabitants, its convenient harbours, both for the *Ocean* and *Mediterranean*, and its present correspondence with the *West-Indies*, is not to compare with *Great Britain* in this particular. I shall transcribe word for word the passage of a late celebrated *French* Author, which will lay this matter in its full light; and leave the Reader to make the counter-part of the parallel between the two nations.

"According to all the inquiries that I have been able "to make during several years, in which I have applied "my self to this sort of remarks, I have observed, that "about a tenth part of the people of this kingdom are "reduced to beggary, and are actual beggars. That "among the nine other parts, five are not in a condition "to give alms or relief to those aforementioned, being "very near reduced themselves to the same miserable "condition. Of the four other remaining parts, three "are very uneasy in their circumstances, and embarassed "with debts and lawsuits. In the tenth part, I reckon "the Soldiers, Lawyers, Ecclesiasticks, Merchants and "substantial Citizens, which cannot make up more than "a hundred thousand families. And I believe I should not "be mistaken, if I should say, that there are not above "ten thousand of these families, who are very much at "their ease: and if out of these ten thousand we should "take the men that are employed in publick business, "with their dependents and adherents, as also those "whom the King supports by his bounty, with a few "Merchants, the number of those who remain will be "surprisingly little. *Dixme Royale.*

What a dreadful account is this of nineteen millions of people; for so many the Author reckons in that kingdom. How can we see such a multitude of souls cast under so many subdivisions of misery, without reflecting on the absurdity of a form of government that sacrifices the ease and happiness of so many reasonable Beings to the glory

of one of their fellow-creatures? But this is not our affair at present.

If we run over the other nations of *Europe* that have any part in the present war, we shall only pass through so many different scenes of poverty. *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Savoy* are reduced to great extremities. *Germany* is exhausted to the last degree in many parts of it, and in others plundered of all she had left. *Holland* indeed flourishes above the rest in wealth and plenty: but if we consider the infinite industry and penuriousness of that people, the coarseness of their food and raiment, their little indulgences of pleasure and excess, it is no wonder that notwithstanding they furnish as great taxes as their neighbours, they make a better figure under them. In a commonwealth there are not so many overgrown estates as in monarchies, the wealth of the country is so equally distributed, that most of the community are at their ease, though few are placed in extraordinary points of splendor and magnificence. But notwithstanding these circumstances may very much contribute to the seeming prosperity of the *United Provinces*, we know they are indebted many millions more than their whole republick is worth, and if we consider the variety of taxes and impositions they groan under at a time when their private dissensions run high, and some of the wealthiest parts of the government refuse to bear their share in the publick expence, we shall not think the condition of that people so much to be envied as some amongst us would willingly represent it.

Nor is *Great Britain* only rich as she stands in comparison with other States, but is really so in her own intrinsick wealth. She had never more ships at sea, greater quantities of merchandise in her warehouses, larger receipts of customs, or more numerous commodities rising out of her manufactures than she has at present. In short, she sits in the midst of a mighty affluence of all the necessaries and conveniences of life. If our silver and gold diminishes, our publick credit continues unimpaired, and if we are in want of bullion, it lies in our own power to supply our selves. The old *Roman* General, when he heard his army complain of thirst, shewed them [1] the springs and rivers

[1] them] 'em, 1708.

that lay behind the enemy's camp. It is our own case: the rout of a *Spanish* army would make us masters of the *Indies*.

If Prince *Eugene* takes upon him the command of the confederate forces in *Catalonia*, and meets with that support from the alliance which they are capable of giving him, we have a fair prospect of reducing *Spain* to the entire obedience of the house of *Austria*. The *Silesian* fund (to the immortal reputation of those generous patriots who were concerned in it) enabled that Prince to make a conquest of *Italy*, at a time when our affairs were more desperate there, than they are at present in the kingdom of *Spain*.

When our Parliament has done their utmost, another publick-spirited project of the same nature, which the common enemy could not foresee nor prepare against, might in all probability set King *Charles* upon the throne for which he hath so long contended. One pitched battle would determine the fate of the *Spanish* continent.

Let us therefore exert the united strength of our whole Island, and by that means put a new life and spirit into the confederates, who have their eyes fixed upon us, and will abate or increase their preparations according to the example that is set them. We see the necessity of an augmentation if we intend to bring the enemy to reason, or rescue our country from the miseries that may befal it; and we find our selves in a condition of making such an augmentation as, by the blessing of God, cannot but prove effectual. If we carry it on vigorously, we shall gain for our selves and our posterity a long, a glorious and a lasting peace; but if we neglect so fair an opportunity, we may be willing to employ all our hands, and all our treasures, when it will be too late; and shall be tormented with one of the most melancholy reflexions of an afflicted heart, That it was once in our power to have made our selves and our children happy.

Text : from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), collated with the first edition (1713), and another dated 1714.

The Trial of Count Tariff was first published in 1713, and it was reprinted without material alteration in 1714. In Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721) practically the same text was given.

THE LATE

TRYAL *and* CONVICTION

OF

Count *TARIFF.*

THE LATE

Tryal and Conviction of Count TARIFF.

THE whole Nation is at present very inquisitive after the proceedings in the cause of Goodman *Fact*, Plaintiff, and Count *Tariff*, Defendant; as it was tried on the 18th[1] of June, in the thirteenth year of her Majesty's reign, and in the year of the Lord 1713. I shall therefore give my countrymen a short and faithful account of that whole matter. And in order to it, must in the first place premise some particulars relating to the person and character of the said Plaintiff Goodman *Fact*.

Goodman *Fact* is allowed by every body to be a plain-spoken person, and a man of very few words. Tropes and figures are his aversion. He affirms every thing roundly, without any art, rhetorick, or circumlocution. He is a declared enemy to all kinds of ceremony and complaisance. He flatters no body. Yet so great is his natural eloquence, that he cuts down the finest orator, and destroys the best-contrived argument, as soon as ever he gets himself to be heard. He never applies to the passions or prejudices of his audience: when they listen with attention and honest minds, he never fails of carrying his point. He appeared in a suit of *English* broad-cloth, very plain, but rich. Every thing he wore was substantial, honest, home-spun ware. His cane indeed came from the *East-Indies*, and two or three little superfluities from *Turkey*, and other parts. It is said that he encouraged himself with a bottle of neat *Port*, before he appeared at the tryal. He was huzzaed into the Court by several thousands of *Weavers*,

[1] 18th] 17th, 1713, 1714.

Clothiers, Fullers, Dyers, Packers, Calenders, Setters, Silkmen, Spinners, Dressers, Whitsters, Winders, Mercers, Throwsters, Sugar-bakers, Distillers, Drapers, Hosiers, Planters, Merchants, and *Fishermen*; who all unanimously declared that they could not live above two months longer, if their friend *Fact* did not gain his cause.

Every body was over-joyed to hear that the good man was come to town. He no sooner made his appearance in Court, but several of his friends fell a weeping at the sight of him: for indeed he had not been seen there three[1] years before.

The charge he exhibited against Count *Tariff* was drawn up in the following articles.

I. That the said Count had given in false and fraudulent reports in the name of the Plaintiff.

II. That the said Count had tampered with the said Plaintiff, and made use of many indirect methods to bring him over to his party.

III. That the said Count had wilfully and knowingly traduced the said Plaintiff, having misrepresented him in many cunningly-devised speeches, as a person in the *French* interest.

IV. That the said Count had averred in the presence of above five hundred persons, that he had heard the Plaintiff speak in derogation of the *Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Hollanders,* and others; who were the persons whom the said Plaintiff had always favoured in his discourse, and whom he should always continue to favour.

V. That the said Count had given a very disadvantageous relation of three great farms, which had long flourished under the care and superintendency of the Plaintiff.

VI. That he would have obliged the owners of the said farms to buy up many commodities which grew upon their own lands. That he would have taken away the labour from the tenants, and put it into the hands of strangers. That he would have lessened and destroyed the produce of the said farms.

That by these and many other wicked devices he would have starved many honest day-labourers; have im-

[1] three] some, 1713, 1714.

poverished the owner, and have filled his farms with beggars, *&c.*

VII. That the said Count had either sunk or mis-laid several books, papers, and receipts, by which the Plaintiff might sooner have found means to vindicate himself from such calumnies, aspersions, and misrepresentations.

In all these particulars Goodman *Fact* was very short but pithy: for, as I said before, he was a plain home-spun man. His yea was yea, and his nay, nay. He had further so much of the Quaker in him, that he never swore, but his affirmation was as valid as another's oath.

It was observed, that Count *Tariff* endeavoured to brow-beat the Plaintiff all the while he was speaking: but though he was not so impudent as the Count, he was every whit as sturdy; and when it came to the Count's turn to speak, old *Fact* so stared him in the face, after his plain, downright way, that the Count was very often struck dumb, and forced to hold his tongue, in the middle of his discourse.

More witnesses appeared on this occasion to attest Goodman *Fact*'s veracity than ever were seen in a court of justice. His cause was pleaded by the ablest men in the kingdom; among whom was a Gentleman of *Suffolk* who did him signal service.

Count *Tariff* appeared just the reverse of Goodman *Fact.* He was dressed in a fine brocade wastcoat, curiously embroidered with Flower-de-luces. He wore also a broad-brimmed hat, a shoulder-knot, and a pair of silver-clocked stockin[g]s. His speeches were accompanied with much gesture and grimace. He abounded in empty phrases, superficial flourishes, violent assertions, and feeble proofs. To be brief, he had all the *French* assurance, cunning, and volubility of tongue; and would most certainly have carried his cause, had he dealt with any one antagonist in the world besides Goodman *Fact.*

The Count being called upon to answer to the charge which had been made against him, did it after a manner peculiar to the family of the *Tariffs*, viz. by railing and calling names.

He in the first place accused his adversary of *Scandalum magnatum*, and of speaking against his superiors with

sauciness and contempt. As the plain good man was not of a make to have any friends at Court, he was a little startled at this accusation, till at length he made it appear, that it was impossible for any of his family to be either saucy or cringing; for that their character was, above all others in the world, to do what was required of them by the Court, that is, To SPEAK THE TRUTH AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH.

The Count in the next place assured the Court, that his antagonist has taken upon him a wrong name, having curtailed it of two or three letters; for that in reality his name was not FACT but FACTION. The Count was so pleased with this conceit, that for an hour together he repeated it in every sentence; calling his antagonist's assertions, the reports of faction; his friends, the sons of faction; the testimonies of his witnesses, the dictates of faction: nay, with such a degree of impudence did he push this matter, that when he heard the cries of above a million of people begging for their bread, he termed the prayers and importunities of such a starving multitude, the CLAMOURS OF FACTION.

As soon as the Count was driven out of this device, he affirmed roundly in the Court that FACT was not an *Englishman* by birth, but that he was of *Dutch* extraction, and born in *Holland*. In consequence of this assertion he began to rally the poor Plaintiff, under the title of MYN HEER VAN FACT; which took pretty well with the simpletons of his party, but the men of sense did not think the jest worth all their lands and tenements.

When the Count had finished his speech, he desired leave to call in his witnesses, which was granted: when immediately there came to the bar a man with a hat drawn over his eyes in such a manner that it was impossible to see his face. He spoke in the spirit, nay in the very language of the Count, repeated his arguments, and confirmed his assertions. Being asked his name; he said the world called him MERCATOR: but as for his true name, his age, his lineage, his religion, his place of abode, they were particulars, which for certain reasons he was obliged to conceal. The Court found him such a false, shuffling, prevaricating rascal, that they set him aside as a person

unqualified to give his testimony in a Court of Justice; advising him at the same time, as he tendered his ears, to forbear uttering such notorious falshoods as he had then published. The witness however persisted in his contumacy, telling them he was very sorry to find, that notwithstanding what he had said, they were resolved to be as arrant fools as all their forefathers had been for a hundred years before them.

There came up another witness, who spoke much to the reputation of Count *Tariff*. This was a tall, black, blustering person, dressed in a *Spanish* habit, with a plume of feathers on his head, a *Golillio* about his neck, and a long *Toledo* sticking out by his side: his garments were so covered with tinsel and spangles, that at a distance he seemed to be made up of silver and gold. He called himself Don Assiento, and mentioned several nations that had sought his friendship; but declared that he had been gained over by the Count; and that he was come into these parts to enrich every one that heard him. The Court was at first very well pleased with his figure, and the promises he made them; but upon examination found him a true *Spaniard*: nothing but show and beggary. For it was fully proved, that notwithstanding the boasts and appearance which he made, he was not worth a groat: nay, that upon casting up his annual expences, with the debts and incumbrances which lay upon his estate, he was worse than nothing.

There appeared another witness in favour of the Count, who spoke with so much violence and warmth, that the Court begun to listen to him very attentively; till upon hearing his name they found he was a notorious Knight of the post, being kept in pay, to give his testimony on all occasions where it was wanted. This was the Examiner; a person who had abused almost every man in *England*, that deserved well of his country. He called Goodman *Fact* a lyar, a seditious person, a traytor, and a rebel; and so[1] much incensed the honest man, that he would certainly have knocked him down if he could have come at him. It was allowed by every body, that so foul-mouthed

[1] and so] and indeed so, 1713, 1714.

a witness never appeared in any cause. Seeing several persons of great eminence, who had maintained the cause of Goodman *Fact*, he called them ideots, blockheads, villains, knaves, infidels, atheists, apostates, fiends, and devils: never did man show so much eloquence in ribaldry. The Court was at length so justly provoked with this fellow's behaviour, who spared no age, nor sex, nor profession, which had shown any friendship or inclination for the Plaintiff, that several began to whisper to one another, it was high time to bring him to punishment. But the witness over-hearing the word *Pillory* repeated twice or thrice, slunk away privately, and hid himself among the people.

After a full hearing on both sides, Count *Tariff* was cast, and Goodman *Fact* got his cause; but the Court sitting late, did not think it fit at that time to give him costs, or indeed to enter into that matter. The honest man immediately retired, after having assured his friends, that at any time when the Count should appear on the like occasion, he would undertake their defence, and come to their assistance, if they would be at the pains to find him out.

It is incredible, how general a joy Goodman *Fact*'s success created in the city of *London*; there was nothing to be seen or heard the next day, but shaking of hands, congratulations, reflections on the danger they had escaped; and gratitude to those who had delivered them from it.

The night concluded with balls, bonfires, ringing of bells, and the like publick demonstrations of joy.

Text : from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721). The *Dialogues* had not been published previously.

In his general Preface [Vol. I. p. xxi of this edn.] Tickell wrote that 'a great part of the *Latin* quotations' in the *Dialogues* 'were rendered into *English*, in a very hasty manner' by him and one of his friends.

In the present edition the drawings of medals have been reproduced on a smaller scale : but the system of references, and the arrangement of the plates are the same as were used in 1721.

DIALOGUES

UPON THE

USEFULNESS

OF

ANCIENT MEDALS.

Especially in relation to the

LATIN *and* GREEK *Poets.*

————quoniam hæc Ratio plerumque videtur
Tristior esse, quibus non est tractata, retroque
Volgus abhorret ab hac: volui tibi suaviloquenti
Carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram,
Et quasi musæo dulci contingere melle,
Si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenerem. Lucretius.

Text : from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721), collated with the text published in the second volume of *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope* (1735) [Quarto edition, pp. 49–53 : folio edition, pp. 45–48].

Pope's verses were first published in Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721). In 1735 they were reprinted, with the addition of six lines, as the fifth of the *Epistles to several Persons.*

VERSES

OCCASIONED BY

Mr. ADDISON's *Treatise of*

MEDALS.

SEE the wild waste of all-devouring years!
How Rome *her own sad sepulchre appears:*
With nodding arches, broken temples spread!
The very tombs now vanish'd like their dead!
Some felt the silent stroke of moula'ring age;
Some, hostile fury; some, religious rage;
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire;
And Papal piety, and Gothick *fire.*
Perhaps by its own ruins sav'd from flame,
Some bury'd marble half preserves a Name;
That Name, the learn'd with fierce disputes pursue,
And give to Titus *old* Vespasian's *due.*
Ambition *sigh'd. She found it vain to trust*

Title: 1735] EPISTLE V. | To Mr. *ADDISON.* [Occasion'd by his Dialogues on MEDALS.]

Between ll. 4 and 5] Imperial wonders, rais'd on Nations spoil'd,
Where mix'd with Slaves the groaning Martyr toil'd;
Huge Theatres, that now unpeopled Woods,
Now drain'd a distant country of her Floods;
Fanes, which admiring Gods with pride survey;
Statues of Men, scarce less alive than they;

1735.

The faithless Column, and the crumbling Bust;
Huge Moles whose shadow stretch'd from shore to shore,
Their ruins perish'd, and their place no more!
Convinc'd, she now contracts her vast design;
And all her triumphs shrink into a Coin.
A narrow orb each crowded conquest keeps;
Beneath her Palm here sad Judæa *weeps;*
Now scantier limits the proud Arch confine,
And scarce are seen the prostrate Nile *and* Rhine:
A small Euphrates *thro' the piece is roll'd;*
And little Eagles wave their wings in Gold.
The Medal, faithful to its charge of fame,
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name:
In one short view, subjected to our eye,
Gods, Emp'rors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lye.
With sharpen'd sight pale Antiquaries pore,
Th' Inscription value, but the Rust adore:
This, the Blue vernish, that, the Green endears,
The sacred Rust of twice ten hundred years.
To gain Pescennius *one employs his schemes;*
One grasps a Cecrops *in ecstatic dreams:*
Poor Vadius, *long with learned spleen devour'd,*
Can taste no pleasure since his Shield was scour'd;
And Curio, *restless by the fair one's side,*
Sighs for an Otho, *and neglects his Bride.*
Theirs is the Vanity, the Learning thine.
Touch'd by thy hand, again Rome's *glories shine:*
Her Gods, and godlike Heroes rise to view,
And all her faded garlands bloom anew.
Nor blush, these studies thy regard engage;
These pleas'd the Fathers of poetic rage;
The Verse and Sculpture bore an equal part,
And Art reflected images to Art.
Oh when shall Britain, *conscious of her claim,*
Stand emulous of Greek *and* Roman *fame?*
In living Medals see her wars enroll'd,
And vanquish'd realms supply recording Gold?
Here, rising bold, the Patriot's honest face;
There Warriors frowning in historic brass.
Then future ages with delight shall see,
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's *looks agree:*

Or in fair series laurel'd Bards be shown,
A Virgil *there, and here an* Addison.
Then shall Thy Craggs (*and let me call him Mine*)
On the cast Ore, another Pollio, *shine;*
With aspect open shall erect his head,
And round the Orb in lasting notes be read.
"*Statesman, yet friend to Truth! in soul sincere,*
"*In action faithful, and in honour clear;*
"*Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,*
"*Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend;*
"*Ennobled by Himself, by all approv'd,*
"*And prais'd, unenvy'd, by the Muse he lov'd.*

A. Pope.

59. open shall] open, shall, 1735.

DIALOGUES

Upon the Usefulness of ANCIENT MEDALS.

DIALOGUE I.

CYNTHIO, *Eugenius* and *Philander* had retired together from the town to a country village, that lies upon the *Thames*. Their design was to pass away the heats of the Summer among the fresh breezes, that rise from the river, and the agreeable mixture of shades and fountains, in which the whole country naturally abounds. They were all three very well versed in the politer parts of learning, and had travelled into the most refined nations of *Europe*: so that they were capable of entertaining themselves on a thousand different subjects without running into the common topics of defaming publick parties, or particular persons. As they were intimate friends they took the freedom to dissent from one another in discourse, or upon occasion to speak a *Latin* sentence without fearing the imputation of pedantry or ill-breeding.

They were one evening taking a walk together in the fields when their discourse accidentally fell upon several unprofitable parts of learning. It was *Cynthio*'s humour to run down every thing that was rather for ostentation than use. He was still preferring good sense to arts and sciences, and often took a pleasure to appear ignorant, that he might the better turn to ridicule those that valued them-

selves on their books and studies, though at the same time one might very well see that he could not have attacked many parts of learning so successfully, had not he borrowed his assistances from them. After having rally'd a set or two of *Virtuoso*'s, he fell upon the Medallists.

These gentlemen, says he, value themselves upon being critics in Rust, and will undertake to tell you the different ages of it, by its colour. They are possessed with a kind of learned avarice, and are for getting together hoards of such mony only as was current among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. There are several of them that are better acquainted with the faces of the *Antonines*, than of the *Stuarts*, and would rather chuse to count out a sum in Sesterces, than in pounds sterling. I have heard of one in *Italy* that used to swear *by the head of Otho*. Nothing can be pleasanter than to see a circle of these *Virtuoso's* about a cabinet of Medals, descanting upon the value, rarity and authenticalness of the several pieces that lie before them. One takes up a coin of gold, and after having well weighed the figures and inscription, tells you very gravely, if it were Brass, it would be invaluable. Another falls a ringing a *Pescennius Niger*, and judiciously distinguishes the sound of it to be modern. A third desires you to observe well the *Toga* on such a reverse, and asks you whether you can in conscience believe the sleeve of it to be of the true *Roman* cut.

I must confess, says *Philander*, the knowledge of Medals has most of those disadvantages that can render a science ridiculous, to such as are not well versed in it. Nothing is more easy than to represent as impertinencies any parts of learning that have no immediate relation to the happiness or convenience of mankind. When a man spends his whole life among the Stars and Planets, or lays out a twelvemonth on the spots in the Sun, however noble his speculations may be, they are very apt to fall into burlesque. But it is still more natural to laugh at such studies as are employed on low and vulgar objects. What curious observations have been made on Spiders, Lobsters, and Cockle-shells? yet the very naming of them is almost sufficient to turn them into raillery. It is no wonder therefore that the science of Medals, which is charged with so many unconcerning parts of knowledge, and built on such

mean materials, should appear ridiculous to those that have not taken the pains to examine it.

Eugenius was very attentive to what *Philander* said on the subject of Medals. He was one that endeavoured rather to be agreeable than shining in conversation, for which reason he was more beloved, though not so much admired as *Cynthio*. I must confess, says he, I find my self very much inclined to speak against a sort of study that I know nothing of. I have however one strong prejudice in favour of it, that *Philander* has thought it worth his while to employ some time upon it. I am glad then, says *Cynthio*, that I have thrown him on a science of which I have long wished to hear the Usefulness. There, says *Philander*, you must excuse me. At present you do not know but it may have its usefulness. But should I endeavour to convince you of it, I might fail in my attempt, and so render my science still more contemptible. On the contrary, says *Cynthio*, we are already so perswaded of the unprofitableness of your science, that you can but leave us where you find us, but if you succeed you increase the number of your party. Well, says *Philander*, in hopes of making two such considerable proselytes, I am very well content to talk away an evening with you on the subject; but on this condition, that you will communicate your thoughts to me freely when you dissent from me or have any difficulties that you think me capable of removing. To make use of the liberty you give us, says *Eugenius*, I must tell you what I believe surprizes all beginners as well as my self. We are apt to think your Medallists a little fantastical in the different prices they set upon their coins, without any regard to the ancient value or the metal of which they are composed. A silver Medal, for example, shall be more esteemed than a golden one, and a piece of brass than either. To answer you, says *Philander*, in the language of a Medallist, you are not to look upon a cabinet of Medals as a treasure of mony, but of knowledge, nor must you fancy any charms in gold, but in the figures and inscriptions that adorn it. The intrinsic value of an old coin does not consist in its metal but its erudition. It is the Device that has raised the species, so that at present an *As* or an *Obolus* may carry a higher price than a *Denarius* or a *Drachma*; and a piece of

mony that was not worth a peny fifteen hundred years ago, may be now rated at fifty crowns, or perhaps a hundred guineas. I find, says *Cynthio*, that to have a relish for ancient coins it is necessary to have a contempt of the modern. But I am afraid you will never be able with all your Medallic eloquence, to perswade *Eugenius* and my self that it is better to have a pocket full of *Otho's* and *Gordians* than of *Jacobus's* or *Louis d'ors*. This however we shall be judges of, when you have let us know the several uses of old coins.

The first and most obvious one, says *Philander*, is the shewing us the Faces of all the great persons of antiquity. A cabinet of Medals is a collection of pictures in miniature. *Juvenal* calls them very humorously,

Concisum argentum in titulos, faciesque minutas. Sat. 5.

You here see the *Alexanders*, *Cæsars*, *Pompeys*, *Trajans*, and the whole catalogue of Heroes; who have many of them so distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind that we almost look upon them as another species. It is an agreeable amusement to compare in our own thoughts the face of a great Man with the character that authors have given us of him, and to try if we can find out in his looks and features either the haughty, cruel, or merciful temper that discovers it self in the history of his actions. We find too on Medals the representations of Ladies that have given occasion to whole volumes on the account only of a face. We have here the pleasure to examine their looks and dresses, and to survey at leisure those beauties that have sometimes been the happiness or misery of whole kingdoms: Nor do you only meet the faces of such as are famous in history, but of several whose Names are not to be found any where except on Medals. Some of the Emperors, for example, have had Wives, and some of them Children, that no authors have mentioned. We are therefore obliged to the study of coins for having made new discoveries to the learned, and given them information of such persons as are to be met with on no other kind of records. You must give me leave, says *Cynthio*, to reject this last use of Medals. I do not think it worth while to trouble my self with a person's name or face that receives

all his reputation from the mint, and would never have been known in the world had there not been such things as Medals. A man's memory finds sufficient employment on such as have really signalized themselves by their great actions, without charging it self with the names of an insignificant people whose whole history is written on the edges of an old coin.

If you are only for such persons as have made a noise in the world, says *Philander*, you have on Medals a long list of heathen Deities, distinguished from each other by their proper titles and ornaments. You see the copies of several statues that have had the politest nations of the world fall down before them. You have here too several persons of a more thin and shadowy nature, as Hope, Constancy, Fidelity, Abundance, Honour, Virtue, Eternity, Justice, Moderation, Happiness, and in short a whole creation of the like imaginary substances. To these you may add the Genies of nations, provinces, cities, high-ways, and the like Allegorical Beings. In devices of this nature one sees a pretty poetical invention, and may often find as much thought on the reverse of a Medal as in a Canto of *Spenser*. Not to interrupt you, says *Eugenius*, I fancy it is this use of Medals that has recommended them to several history-painters, who perhaps without this assistance would have found it very difficult to have invented such an airy species of beings, when they are obliged to put a moral virtue into colours, or to find out a proper dress for a passion. It is doubtless for this reason, says *Philander*, that Painters have not a little contributed to bring the study of Medals in vogue. For not to mention several others, *Caraccio* is said to have assisted *Aretine* by designs that he took from the *Spintriæ* of *Tiberius*. *Raphael* had thoroughly studied the figures on old Coins. *Patin* tells us that *Le Brun* had done the same. And it is well known that *Rubens* had a noble collection of Medals in his own possession. But I must not quit this head before I tell you, that you see on Medals not only the names and persons of Emperors, Kings, Consuls, Pro-consuls, Prætors, and the like characters of importance, but of some of the Poets, and of several who had won the prizes at the Olympick games. It was a noble time, says *Cynthio*, when Trips and *Cornish* hugs

could make a man immortal. How many Heroes would *Moor-fields* have furnished out in the days of old? A fellow that can now only win a hat or a belt, had he lived among the *Greeks*, might have had his face stampt upon their Coins. But these were the wise ancients, who had more esteem for a *Milo* than a *Homer*, and heapt up greater Honours on *Pindar*'s Jockies, than on the Poet himself. But by this time I suppose you have drawn up all your medallic people, and indeed they make a much more formidable body than I could have imagined. You have shewn us all conditions, sexes and ages, emperors and empresses, men and children, gods and wrestlers. Nay you have conjured up persons that exist no where else but on old Coins, and have made our Passions and Virtues and Vices visible. I could never have thought that a cabinet of Medals had been so well peopled. But in the next place, says *Philander*, as we see on coins the different Faces of persons, we see on them too their different Habits and Dresses, according to the mode that prevailed in the several ages when the Medals were stampt. This is another use, says *Cynthio*, that in my opinion contributes rather to make a man learned than wise, and is neither capable of pleasing the understanding or imagination. I know there are several supercilious Critics that will treat an author with the greatest contempt imaginable, if he fancies the old *Romans* wore a girdle, and are amazed at a man's ignorance, who believes the *Toga* had any Sleeves to it till the declension of the *Roman* Empire. Now I would fain know the great importance of this kind of learning, and why it should not be as noble a task to write upon a Bib and hanging-sleeves, as on the *Bulla* and *Prætexta*. The reason is, that we are familiar with the names of the one, and meet with the other no where but in learned authors. An Antiquary will scorn to mention a pinner or a night-rail, a petticoat or a manteau; but will talk as gravely as a father of the church on the *Vitta* and *Peplus*, the *Stola* and *Instita*. How would an old *Roman* laugh, were it possible for him to see the solemn dissertations that have been made on these weighty subjects. To set them in their natural light, let us fancy, if you please, that about a thousand years hence, some profound author shall write a

learned treatise on the Habits of the present age, distinguished into the following Titles and Chapters.

Of the old British *Trowser.*
Of the Ruff and Collar-band.
The opinion of several learned men concerning the use of the Shoulder-knot.
Such a one mistaken in his account of the Surtout, &c.

I must confess, says *Eugenius* interrupting him, the knowledge of these affairs is in it self very little improving, but as it is impossible without it to understand several parts of your ancient authors, it certainly hath its use. It is pity indeed there is not a nearer way of coming at it. I have sometimes fancied it would not be an impertinent design to make a kind of an old *Roman* wardrobe, where you should see *Toga's* and *Tunica's*, the *Chlamys* and *Trabea*, and in short all the different vests and ornaments that are so often mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. By this means a man would comprehend better and remember much longer the shape of an ancient garment, than he possibly can from the help of tedious quotations and descriptions. The design, says *Philander*, might be very useful, but after what models would you work? *Sigonius*, for example, will tell you that the *Vestis Trabeata* was of such a particular fashion, *Scaliger* is for another, and *Dacier* thinks them both in the wrong. These are, says *Cynthio*, I suppose the names of three *Roman* taylors: for is it possible men of learning can have any disputes of this nature? May not we as well believe that hereafter the whole learned world will be divided upon the make of a modern pair of breeches? And yet, says *Eugenius*, the Critics have fallen as foul upon each other for matters of the same moment. But as to this point, where the Make of the garment is controverted, let them, if they can find cloth enough, work after all the most probable fashions. To enlarge the design, I would have another room for the old *Roman* instruments of war, where you might see the *Pilum* and the shield, the eagles, ensigns, helmets, battering-rams and trophies, in a word, all the ancient military furniture in the same manner as it might have been in an Arsenal of old *Rome*. A third apartment should be a

kind of Sacristie for altars, idols, sacrificing instruments, and other religious utensils. Not to be tedious, one might make a magazine for all sorts of antiquities, that would show a man in an afternoon more than he could learn out of books in a twelve-month. This would cut short the whole study of antiquities, and perhaps be much more useful to Universities than those collections of Whale-bone and Crocodile-skins in which they commonly abound. You will find it very difficult, says *Cynthio*, to persuade those societies of learned men to fall in with your project. They will tell you that things of this importance must not be taken on trust ; you ought to learn them among the Classic Authors and at the fountain-head. Pray consider what a figure a man would make in the republick of letters, should he appeal to your University-wardrobe, when they expect a sentence out of the *Re Vestiaria ?* or how do you think a man that has read *Vegetius* will relish your *Roman* Arsenal ? In the mean time, says *Philander*, you find on Medals every thing that you could meet with in your magazine of antiquities, and when you have built your arsenals, wardrobes, and sacristies, it is from Medals that you must fetch their furniture. It is here too that you see the figures of several instruments of musick, mathematics and mechanics. One might make an entire gally out of the plans that are to be met with on the reverses of several old Coins. Nor are they only charged with Things but with many ancient Customs, as sacrifices, triumphs, congiaries, allocutions, decursions, lectisterniums, and a thousand other antiquated names and ceremonies that we should not have had so just a notion of, were they not still preserved on Coins. I might add under this head of antiquities that we find on Medals the manner of spelling in the old *Roman* inscriptions. That is, says *Cynthio*, we find that *Felix* is never written with an *æ* dipthongue, and that in *Augustus*'s days *Civis* stood for *Cives*, with other secrets in Orthography of the same importance.

To come then to a more weighty use, says *Philander*, it is certain that Medals give a very great light to history, in confirming such passages as are true in old Authors, in settling such as are told after different manners, and in recording such as have been omitted. In this case a

cabinet of Medals is a body of history. It was indeed the best way in the world to perpetuate the memory of great actions, thus to coin out the life of an Emperor, and to put every great exploit into the mint. It was a kind of Printing, before the art was invented. It is by this means that Monsieur *Vaillant* has disembroiled a history that was lost to the world before his time, and out of a short collection of Medals has given us a chronicle of the Kings of *Syria*. For this too is an advantage Medals have over books, that they tell their story much quicker, and sum up a whole volume in twenty or thirty reverses. They are indeed the best epitomes in the world, and let you see with one cast of an eye the substance of above a hundred pages. Another use of Medals is, that they not only shew you the actions of an Emperor, but at the same time mark out the year in which they were performed. Every exploit has its date set to it. A series of an Emperor's Coins is his life digested into annals. Historians seldom break their relation with a mixture of chronology, nor distribute the particulars of an Emperor's story into the several years of his reign: or where they do it they often differ in their several periods. Here therefore it is much safer to quote a Medal than an Author, for in this case you do not appeal to a *Suetonius* or a *Lampridius*, but to the Emperor himself, or to the whole body of a *Roman* Senate. Besides that a Coin is in no danger of having its characters altered by copiers and transcribers. This I must confess, says *Cynthio*, may in some cases be of great moment, but considering the subjects on which your chronologers are generally employed, I see but little use that rises from it. For example, what signifies it to the world whether such an Elephant appeared in the Amphi-theatre in the second or the third year of *Domitian*? Or what am I the wiser for knowing that *Trajan* was in the fifth year of his Tribuneship when he entertained the people with such a Horse-race or Bull-baiting? Yet it is the fixing of these great periods that gives a man the first rank in the republic of letters, and recommends him to the world for a person of various reading and profound erudition.

You must always give your men of great reading leave to show their talents on the meanest subjects, says *Eugenius*;

it is a kind of shooting at rovers: where a man lets fly his arrow without taking any aim, to shew his strength. But there is one advantage, says he, turning to *Philander*, that seems to me very considerable, although you Medallists seldom throw it into the account, which is the great help to memory one finds in Medals: for my own part I am very much embarrassed in the names and ranks of the several *Roman* Emperors, and find it difficult to recollect upon occasion the different parts of their history: but your Medallists upon the first naming of an Emperor will immediately tell you his age, family and life. To remember where he enters in the succession, they only consider in what part of the cabinet he lies; and by running over in their thoughts such a particular drawer, will give you an account of all the remarkable parts of his reign.

I thank you, says *Philander*, for helping me to an use that perhaps I should not have thought on. But there is another of which I am sure you could not but be sensible when you were at *Rome*. I must own to you it surprized me to see my *Ciceroni* so well acquainted with the busts and statues of all the great people of antiquity. There was not an Emperor or Empress but he knew by sight, and as he was seldom without Medals in his pocket, he would often shew us the same face on an old Coin that we saw in the Statue. He would discover a *Commodus* through the disguise of the club and lion's skin, and find out such a one to be *Livia* that was dressed up like a *Ceres*. Let a bust be never so disfigured, they have a thousand marks by which to decipher it. They will know a *Zenobia* by the sitting of her Diadem, and will distinguish the *Faustina's* by their different way of tying up their hair. Oh! Sir, says *Cynthio*, they will go a great deal farther, they will give you the name and titles of a Statue that has lost his nose and ears; or if there is but half a beard remaining, will tell you at first sight who was the owner of it. Now I must confess to you, I used to fancy they imposed upon me an Emperor or Empress at pleasure, rather than appear ignorant.

All this however is easily learnt from Medals, says *Philander*, where you may see likewise the plans of many the most considerable buildings of Old *Rome*. There is

an ingenious Gentleman of our own nation extremely well versed in this study who has a design of publishing the whole history of Architecture, with its several improvements and decays as it is to be met with on ancient Coins. He has assured me that he has observed all the nicety of proportion in the figures of the different orders that compose the buildings on the best preserved Medals. You here see the copies of such Ports and triumphal Arches as there are not the least traces of in the places where they once stood. You have here the models of several ancient Temples, though the Temples themselves, and the Gods that were worshipped in them, are perished many hundred years ago. Or if there are still any foundations or ruines of former edifices, you may learn from Coins what was their Architecture when they stood whole and entire. These are buildings which the *Goths* and *Vandals* could not demolish, that are infinitely more durable than stone or marble, and will perhaps last as long as the earth it self. They are in short so many real monuments of Brass.

Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.

Which eating show'rs, nor northwind's feeble blast,
Nor whirle of time, nor flight of years can waste. Mr. *Creech.*

This is a noble Panegyric on an old copper Coin, says *Cynthio*. But I am afraid a little malicious rust would demolish one of your brazen edifices as effectually as a *Goth* or *Vandal*. You would laugh at me, says *Philander*, should I make you a learned dissertation on the nature of Rusts. I shall only tell you there are two or three sorts of them which are extremely beautiful in the eye of an Antiquary, and preserve a Coin better than the best artificial vernish. As for other kinds, a skilful Medallist knows very well how to deal with them. He will recover you a Temple or a triumphal Arch out of its rubbish, if I may so call it, and with a few reparations of the graving tool restore it to its first splendour and magnificence. I have known an Emperor quite hid under a crust of dross, who after two or three days cleansing has appeared with

all his Titles about him as fresh and beautiful as at his first coming out of the Mint. I am sorry, says *Eugenius*, I did not know this last use of Medals when I was at *Rome*. It might perhaps have given me a greater taste of its Antiquities, and have fixed in my memory several of the ruines that I have now forgotten. For my part, says *Cynthio*, I think there are at *Rome* enow modern works of Architecture to employ any reasonable man. I never could have a taste for old bricks and rubbish, nor would trouble my self about the ruines of *Augustus*'s Palace so long as I could see the *Vatican*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese* as they now stand ; I must own to you at the same time this is talking like an ignorant man. Were I in other company I would perhaps change my style, and tell them that I would rather see the fragments of *Apollo*'s Temple than St. *Peter*'s. I remember when our Antiquary at *Rome* had led us a whole day together from one ruine to another, he at last brought us to the *Rotunda*, And this, says he, is the most valuable Antiquity in *Italy*, notwithstanding it is so entire.

The same kind of fancy, says *Philander*, has formerly gained upon several of your Medallists, who were for hoording up such pieces of money only as had been half consumed by time or rust. There were no Coins pleased them more than those which had passed through the hands of an old *Roman* Clipper. I have read an Author of this taste that compares a ragged Coin to a tattered Colours. But to come again to our subject. As we find on Medals the plans of several buildings that are now demolished, we see on them too the Models of many ancient Statues that are now lost. There are several Reverses which are owned to be the representations of antique figures, and I question not but there are many others that were formed on the like Models, though at present they lie under no suspicion of it. The *Hercules Farnese*, the *Venus* of *Medicis*, the *Apollo* in the *Belvidera*, and the famous *Marcus Aurelius* on horse-back, which are perhaps the four most beautiful Statues extant, make their appearance all of them on ancient Medals, though the figures that represent them were never thought to be the copies of statues till the statues themselves were discovered. There is no question, I think,

but the same reflexion may extend it self to antique Pictures: for I doubt not but in the designs of several *Greek* Medals in particular, one might often see the hand of an *Apelles* or *Protogenes*, were we as well acquainted with their works as we are with *Titian*'s or *Vandike*'s. I might here make a much greater show of the usefulness of Medals, if I would take the method of others, and prove to you that all arts and sciences receive a considerable illustration from this study. I must however tell you, that Medals and the Civil Law, as we are assured by those who are well read in both, give a considerable light to each other, and that several old Coins are like so many maps for explaining of the antient Geography. But besides the more solid parts of learning, there are several little intimations to be met with on Medals that are very pleasant to such as are conversant in this kind of study. Should I tell you gravely, that without the help of Coins we should never have known which was the first of the Emperors that wore a beard, or rode in stirrups, I might turn my science into ridicule. Yet it is certain there are a thousand little impertinencies of this nature that are very gratifying to curiosity, tho' perhaps not very improving to the understanding. To see the dress that such an Empress delighted to be drawn in, the titles that were most agreeable to such an Emperor, the flatteries that he lay most open to, the honours that he paid to his children, wives, predecessors, friends or collegues, with the like particularities only to be met with on Medals, are certainly not a little pleasing to that inquisitive temper which is so natural to the mind of man.

I declare to you, says *Cynthio*, you have astonished me with the several parts of knowledge, that you have discovered on Medals. I could never fancy before this evening, that a Coin could have any nobler use in it than to pay a reckoning.

You have not heard all yet, says *Philander*, there is still an advantage to be drawn from Medals, which I am sure will heighten your esteem for them. It is indeed an use that no body has hitherto dwelt upon. If any of the Antiquaries have touched upon it, they have immediately quitted it, without considering it in its full latitude, light and extent. Not to keep you in suspence, I think there

is a great affinity between Coins and Poetry, and that your Medallist and Critic are much nearer related than the world generally imagines. A reverse often clears up the passage of an old poet, as the poet often serves to unriddle a reverse. I could be longer on this head, but I fear I have already tired you. Nay, says *Eugenius*, since you have gone so far with us, we must beg you to finish your lecture, especially since you are on a subject, that I dare promise you will be very agreeable to *Cynthio*, who is so professed an admirer of the ancient poets. I must only warn you, that you do not charge your Coins with more uses than they can bear. It is generally the method of such as are in love with any particular science to discover all others in it. Who would imagine, for example, that architecture should comprehend the knowledge of history, ethics, music, astronomy, natural philosophy, physic and the civil law? Yet *Vitruvius* will give you his reasons, such as they are, why a good architect is master of these several arts and sciences. Sure, says *Cynthio*, *Martial* had never read *Vitruvius* when he threw the Cryer and the Architect into the same class.

Duri si puer ingeni videtur
Præconem facias vel architectum.

If of dull parts the stripling you suspect,
A herald make him, or an architect.

But to give you an instance out of a very celebrated discourse on poetry, because we are on that subject, of an author's finding out imaginary beauties in his own art. *I have observed*, says he, (speaking of the natural propension that all men have to numbers and harmony) *that my barber has often combed my head in Dactyls and Spondees, that is, with two short strokes and a long one, or with two long ones successively. Nay*, says he, *I have known him sometimes run even into Pyrrhichius's and Anapæstus's.* This you will think perhaps a very extravagant fancy, but I must own I should as soon expect to find the *Prosodia* in a Comb as Poetry in a Medal. Before I endeavour to convince you of it, says *Philander*, I must confess to you that this science

Vossius de viribus Rythmi.

has its visionaries as well as all others. There are several, for example, that will find a mystery in every tooth of *Neptune*'s trident, and are amazed at the wisdom of the ancients that represented a thunder-bolt with three forks, since, they will tell you, nothing could have better explained its triple quality of piercing, burning and melting. I have seen a long discourse on the figure and nature of horn, to shew it was impossible to have found out a fitter emblem for plenty than the *Cornu-Copiæ*. These are a sort of authors who scorn to take up with appearances, and fancy an interpretation vulgar when it is natural. What could have been more proper to shew the beauty and friendship of the Three Graces, than to represent them naked and knitt together in a kind of dance? It is thus they always appear in ancient sculpture, whether on Medals or in Marble, as I doubt not but *Horace* alludes to designs of this nature, when he describes them after the same manner.

——————Gratia
Junctis nuda sororibus:
——Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiæ.

The Sister-*Graces* hand in hand
Conjoin'd by love's eternal band.

Several of your Medallists will be here again astonished at the wisdom of the ancients, that knew how to couch such excellent precepts of morality under visible objects. The nature of Gratitude, they will tell you, is better illustrated by this single device, than by *Seneca*'s whole book *de Beneficiis*. The three Graces teach us three things. I. To remark the doing of a courtesie. II. The return of it from the receiver. III. The obligation of the receiver to acknowledge it. The three Graces are always hand in hand to show us that these three duties should be never separated. They are naked, to admonish us that Gratitude should be returned with a free and open heart; and dancing, to shew us that no vertue is more active than Gratitude. May not we here say with *Lucretius*?

Quæ bene et eximie quanquam disposta ferantur,
Sunt longè tamen a verâ ratione repulsa.

It is an easy thing, says *Eugenius*, to find out designs that never entered into the thoughts of the sculptor or the coiner. I dare say, the same Gentlemen who have fixed this piece of morality on the three naked Sisters dancing hand in hand, would have found out as good a one for them, had there been four of them sitting at a distance from each other, and covered from head to foot. It is here therefore, says *Philander*, that the old poets step in to the assistance of the Medallist, when they give us the same thought in words as the masters of the *Roman* mint have done in figures. A man may see a metaphor or an allegory in picture, as well as read them in a description. When therefore I confront a Medal with a Verse, I only shew you the same design executed by different hands, and appeal from one master to another of the same age and taste. This is certainly a much surer way than to build on the interpretations of an author who does not consider how the ancients used to think, but will be still inventing mysteries and applications out of his own fancy. To make my self more intelligible, I find a shield on the reverse of an Emperor's Coin, designed as a complement to him from the senate of *Rome*. I meet with the same metaphor in ancient poets to express protection or defence. I conclude therefore that this Medal compliments the Emperor in the same sense as the old *Romans* did their Dictator *Fabius* when they called him the Buckler of *Rome*. Put this reverse now if you please into the hands of a mystical antiquary. He shall tell you that the use of the shield being to defend the body from the weapons of an enemy, it very aptly shadows out to us the resolution or continence of the Emperor, which made him proof to all the attacks of fortune or of pleasure. In the next place, the figure of the shield being round it is an emblem of perfection, for *Aristotle* has said the round figure is the most perfect. It may likewise signify the immortal reputation that the Emperor has acquired by his great actions, rotundity being an emblem of eternity that has neither beginning nor end. After this I dare not answer for the shield's convexity that it does not cover a mystery, nay there shall not be the least wrinkle or flourish upon it which will not turn to

some account. In this case therefore * Poetry being in some respects an Art of designing as well as Painting or Sculpture, they may serve as Comments on each other. I am very well satisfied, says *Eugenius*, by what you have said on this subject, that the Poets may contribute to the explication of such reverses as are purely emblematical, or when the persons are of that shadowy allegorical nature you have before mentioned, but I suppose there are many other reverses that represent things and persons of a more real existence. In this case too, says *Philander*, a Poet lets you into the knowledge of a device better than a Prose-writer, as his descriptions are often more diffuse, his story more naturally circumstanced, and his language enriched with a greater variety of epithets: So that you often meet with little hints and suggestions in a Poet that give a great illustration to the customs, actions, ornaments, and all kinds of Antiquities that are to be met with on ancient Coins. I fancy, says *Cynthio*, there is nothing more ridiculous than an Antiquary's reading the *Greek* or *Latin* Poets. He never thinks of the beauty of the thought or language, but is for searching into what he calls the Erudition of the Author. He will turn you over all *Virgil* to find out the figure of an old *Rostrum*, and has the greatest esteem imaginable for *Homer*, because he has given us the fashion of a *Greek* scepter. It is indeed odd enough to consider how all kinds of Readers find their account in the old Poets. Not only your men of the more refined or solid parts of Learning, but even your Alchymist and Fortune-teller will discover the secrets of their art in *Homer* and *Virgil*. This, says *Eugenius*, is a prejudice of a very ancient standing. Read but *Plutarch*'s discourse on *Homer*, and you will see that the Iliad contains the whole circle of arts, and that *Thales* and *Pythagoras* stole all their philosophy out of this Poet's works. One would be amazed to see what pains he takes to prove that *Homer* understood all the figures in Rhetoric, before they were invented. I do not question, says *Philander*, were it possible for *Homer* to read his praises in this Author, but he would be as much surprized as ever Monsieur *Jourdain* was when he had found

* *Poema est pictura loquax.*

he had talked Prose all his life-time without ever knowing what it was. But to finish the task you have set me, we may observe that not only the Virtues, and the like imaginary persons, but all the heathen Divinities appear generally in the same Dress among the Poets that they wear in Medals. I must confess, I believe both the one and the other took the Mode from the ancient *Greek* Statuaries. It will not perhaps be an improper transition to pass from the heathen gods to the several monsters of antiquity, as *Chimæras*, *Gorgons*, *Sphinxes*, and many others that make the same figure in verse as on coins. It often happens too, that the Poet and the Senate of *Rome* have both chosen the same Topic to flatter their Emperor upon, and have sometimes fallen upon the same thought. It is certain, they both of them lay upon the catch for a great action: It is no wonder therefore, that they were often engaged on one subject, the Medal and the Poem being nothing else but occasional compliments to the Emperor. Nay, I question not but you may sometimes find certain passages among the Poets that relate to the particular device of a Medal.

I wonder, says *Eugenius*, that your Medallists have not been as diligent in searching the Poets as the Historians, since I find they are so capable of enlightning their art. I would have some body put the Muses under a kind of contribution to furnish out whatever they have in them that bears any relation to Coins. Though they taught us but the same things that might be learnt in other writings, they would at least teach us more agreeably, and draw several over to the study of Medals that would rather be instructed in verse than in prose. I am glad, says *Philander*, to hear you of this opinion, for to tell you truly, when I was at *Rome*, I took occasion to buy up many Imperial Medals that have any affinity with passages of the ancient Poets. So that I have by me a sort of poetical Cash, which I fancy I could count over to you in *Latin* and *Greek* verse. If you will drink a dish of Tea with me to-morrow morning, I will lay my whole collection before you. I cannot tell, says *Cynthio*, how the Poets will succeed in the explication of coins, to which they are generally very great strangers. We are however obliged to you for preventing us with the

offer of a kindness that you might well imagine we should have asked you.

Our three friends had been so intent on their discourse, that they had rambled very far into the fields without taking notice of it. *Philander* first put them in mind, that unless they turned back quickly they would endanger being benighted. Their conversation ran insensibly into other subjects, but as I design only to report such parts of it as have any relation to Medals, I shall leave them to return home as fast as they please, without troubling my self with their talk on the way thither, or with their ceremonies at parting.

DIALOGUE II.

SOME of the finest treatises of the most polite *Latin* and *Greek* writers are in Dialogue, as many very valued pieces of *French*, *Italian*, and *English* appear in the same dress. I have sometimes however been very much distasted at this way of writing, by reason of the long prefaces and exordiums into which it often betrays an Author. There is so much time taken up in ceremony, that before they enter on their subject the Dialogue is half ended. To avoid the fault I have found in others, I shall not trouble my self nor my Reader with the first salutes of our three friends, nor with any part of their discourse over the Tea table. We will suppose the *China* dishes taken off, and a Drawer of Medals supplying their room. *Philander*, who is to be the Heroe in my Dialogue, takes it in his hand, and addressing himself to *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*, I will first of all, says he, show you an assembly of the most virtuous Ladies that you have ever perhaps conversed with. I do not know, says *Cynthio*, regarding them, what their virtue may be, but methinks they are a little fantastical in their dress. You will find, says *Philander*, there is good sense in it. They have not a single ornament that they cannot give a reason for. I was

going to ask you, says *Eugenius*, in what country you find these Ladies. But I see they are some of those imaginary persons you told us of last night that inhabit old Coins, and appear no where else but on the reverse of a Medal. Their proper country, says *Philander*, is the breast of a good man: for I think they are most of them the figures of Virtues. It is a great compliment methinks to the sex, says *Cynthio*, that your Virtues are generally shown in petticoats. I can give no other reason for it, says *Philander*, but because they chanced to be of the feminine gender in the learned languages. You find however something bold and masculine in the air and posture of the first figure, which is that of *Virtue* her self, and agrees very well with the description we find of her in *Silius Italicus*.

First Series. Fig. 1.

Virtutis dispar habitus, frons hirta, nec unquam
Compositâ mutata comâ, stans vultus, et ore
Incessuque viro propior, lætique pudoris,
Celsa humeris, niveæ fulgebat stamine pallæ Sil. It. Li. 15.

A different form did *Virtue* wear,
Rude from her forehead fell th'unplaited hair,
With dauntless mien aloft she rear'd her head,
And next to manly was the virgin's tread;
Her height, her sprightly blush, the Goddess show,
And robes unsullied as the falling snow.

Fig. 2. *Virtue* and *Honour* had their Temples bordering on each other, and are sometimes both on the same coin, as in the following one of *Galba*. *Silius Italicus* makes them companions in the glorious equipage that he gives his *Virtue*.

Mecum Honor, et Laudes, et læto Gloria vultu, [Virtus loquitur.
Et Decus, et niveis Victoria concolor alis. *Ibid.*

With me the foremost place let *Honour* gain, [*Virtue speaks.*
Fame, and the *Praises* mingling in her train;
Gay *Glory* next, and *Victory* on high,
White like my self, on snowy wings shall fly.

Tu cujus placido posuere in pectore sedem
Blandus Honos, hilarisque (tamen cum pondere) Virtus. Stat. Sil. l. 2.

The head of *Honour* is crowned with a Laurel, as *Martial*

has adorned his *Glory* after the same manner, which indeed is but another name for the same person.

Mitte coronatas Gloria mæsta comas.

I find, says *Cynthio*, the *Latins* mean Courage by the figure of Virtue, as well as by the word it self. Courage was esteemed the greatest perfection among them, and therefore went under the name of Virtue in general, as the modern *Italians* give the same name on the same account to the Knowledge of Curiosities. Should a *Roman* Painter at present draw the picture of Virtue, instead of the Spear and Para[z]onium that she bears on old coins, he would give her a Bust in one hand and a Fiddle in the other.

The next, says *Philander*, is a Lady of a more peaceful character, and had her Temple at *Rome*. Fig. 3.

———*Salutato crepitat Concordia nido.*

She is often placed on the reverse of an Imperial coin to show the good understanding between the Emperor and the Empress. She has always a *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand, to denote that Plenty is the fruit of Concord. After this short account of the Goddess, I desire you will give me your opinion of the Deity that is described in the following verses of *Seneca*, who would have her propitious to the marriage of *Jason* and *Creusa*. He mentions her by her qualities, and not by her name.

———————*Asperi*
Martis sanguineas quæ cohibet manus,
Quæ dat belligeris fœdera gentibus,
Et cornu retinet divite copiam. Sen. Med. Act. 1.

Who sooths great *Mars* the warriour God,
And checks his arm distain'd with blood,
Who joins in leagues the jarring lands,
The horn of Plenty fills her hands.

The description, says *Eugenius*, is a copy of the figure we have before us: and for the future, instead of any further note on this passage, I would have the reverse you have shown us stamped on the side of it. The interpreters of *Seneca*, says *Philander*, will understand the precedent verses

as a description of *Venus*, though in my opinion there is only the first of them that can aptly relate to her, which at the same time agrees as well with *Concord*: and that this was a Goddess who used to interest her self in marriages, we may see in the following description.

——————Jamdudum poste reclinis,
Quærit Hymen thalamis intactum dicere carmen,
Quo vatem mulcere queat; dat Juno verenda
Vincula, et insigni geminat Concordia tædâ.
Statii Epithalamion. Silv. li. 1.

Already leaning at the door, too long
Sweet *Hymen* waits to raise the nuptial song,
Her sacred bands majestick *Juno* lends
And *Concord* with her flaming torch attends.

Fig. 4. *Peace* differs as little in her Dress as in her Character from *Concord*. You may observe in both these figures that the Vest is gathered up before them, like an Apron, which you must suppose filled with fruits as well as the *Cornu-copiæ*. It is to this part of the Dress that *Tibullus* alludes.

At nobis, Pax alma, veni, spicamque teneto,
Perfluat et pomis candidus antè sinus.

Kind *Peace* appear,
And in thy right hand hold the wheaten ear,
From thy white lap th' o'erflowing fruits shall fall.

Prudentius has given us the same circumstance in his description of Avarice.

——Avaritia gremio præcincta capaci. Prud. Psychomachia.

How proper the emblems of Plenty are to Peace, may be seen in the same Poet.

Interea Pax arva colat, Pax candida primùm
Duxit araturos sub juga curva boves;
Pax aluit vites, et succos condidit uvæ,
Funderet ut nato testa paterna merum:
Pace bidens vomerque vigent.———— Tibul. El. 10. Lib. 1.

She first, White *Peace*, the earth with plough-shares broke,
And bent the oxen to the crooked yoke,
First rear'd the vine, and hoarded first with care
The father's vintage for his drunken heir

The Olive-branch in her hand is frequently touched upon in the old Poets as a token of Peace.

Pace[*m*] *orare manu*———— Virg. Æn. 10.

Ingreditur, ramumque tenens popularis Olivæ. Ov. Met. lib. 7.

In his right hand an Olive-branch he holds.

————————————*furorem*
Indomitum duramque viri deflectere mentem
Pacifico sermone parant, hostemque propinquum
Orant Cecropiæ prælatâ fronde Minervæ. Luc. lib. 3.

——To move his haughty soul they trye
Intreaties, and perswasion soft apply;
Their brows *Minerva*'s peaceful branches wear,
And thus in gentlest terms they greet his ear. Mr. *Rowe.*

Which by the way one would think had been spoken rather of an *Attila*, or a *Maximin*, than *Julius Cæsar.*

You see *Abundance* or *Plenty* makes the same figure in Medals as in *Horace.* Fig. 5.

————————————*tibi Copia*
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu. Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 17.

——Here to thee shall Plenty flow
And all her riches show,
To raise the honour of the quiet plain. Mr. *Creech.*

The Compliment on this reverse to *Gordianus Pius* is expressed in the same manner as that of *Horace* to *Augustus.*

————————————*Aurea fruges*
Italiam pleno diffudit Copia cornu. Hor. Epist. 12. Lib. 1.

——Golden *Plenty* with a bounteous hand
Rich harvests freely scatters o'er our land. Mr. *Creech.*

Fig. 6. But to return again to our Virtues. You have here the picture of *Fidelity*, who was worshipped as a Goddess among the *Romans*.

Si tu oblitus es at Dij meminerunt, meminit Fides. Catul. ad Alphen.

I should fancy from the following verses of *Virgil* and *Silius Italicus*, that she was represented under the figure of an old woman.

Cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Jura dabunt———— Virg. Æn. Lib. 1.

Then banish'd *Faith* shall once again return,
And Vestal fires in hallow'd temples burn,
And *Remus* with *Quirinus* shall sustain
The righteous laws, and fraud and force restrain. Mr. *Dryden.*

————————————*ad limina sanctæ*
Tendebat Fidei, secretaque pectora tentat.
Arcanis dea læta, polo tum forte remoto
Cælicolum magnas volvebat conscia curas.
Ante Jovem generata, decus divumque hominumque,
Quâ sine non tellus pacem, non æquora norunt,
Justitiæ consors———— Sil. It. Lib. 2.

He to the shrines of *Faith* his steps addrest.
She, pleas'd with secrets rowling in her breast,
Far from the world remote, revolv'd on high
The cares of gods, and counsels of the sky.
E'er *Jove* was born she grac'd the bright abodes,
Consort of *Justice*, boast of men and gods;
Without whose heavenly aid no peace below
The stedfast earth, and rowling ocean know.

Fig. 7. There is a Medal of *Heliogabalus* inscrib'd FIDES EXERCITUS, that receives a great light from the preceding verses. She is posted between two military Ensigns, for the good quality that the Poet ascribes to her of preserving the public peace, by keeping the Army true to its Allegiance.

I fancy, says *Eugenius*, as you have discovered the Age of this imaginary Lady, from the description that the Poets have made of her, you may find too the colour of the

Drapery that she wore in the old *Roman* paintings, from that Verse in *Horace*,

Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno———————— Hor. Od. 35. Lib. 1.

Sure *Hope*, and *Friendship* cloath'd in White,
Attend on thee.———— Mr. *Creech.*

One would think, says *Philander*, by this verse, that *Hope* and *Fidelity* hath both the same kind of Dress. It is certain *Hope* might have a fair pretence to White, in allusion to those that were Candidates for an employ.

————*quem ducit hiantem*
Cretata ambitio———— Pers. Sat. 5.

And how properly the Epithet of *Rara* agrees with her, you may see in the transparency of the next figure. She is here dressed in such a kind of Vest as the *Latins* call a *Multicium* from the fineness of its Tissue. Your *Roman* Beaus had their summer *toga* of such a light airy make. Fig. 8.

Quem tenues decuere togæ nitidique capilli. Hor. Ep. 14. Lib. 1.

I that lov'd——
Curl'd powder'd locks, a fine and gawdy gown. Mr. *Creech.*

I remember, says *Cynthio*, *Juvenal* rallys *Creticus*, that was otherwise a brave rough fellow, very handsomely, on this kind of garment.

————*sed quid*
Non facient alij cum tu multitia sumas,
Cretice? et hanc vestem populo mirante perores
In Proculas et Pollineas.———— Juv. Sat. 2.

Acer et indomitus Libertatisque magister,
Cretice, pelluces———— *Ibid.*

———— Nor, vain *Metellus*, shall
From *Rome*'s Tribunal thy harangues prevail
'Gainst harlotry, while thou art clad so thin,
That thro' thy Cobweb-robe we see thy skin,
As thou declaim'st———— Mr. *Tate.*

Can'st thou restore old manners, or retrench
Rome's pride, who com'st transparent to the Bench? *Idem.*

But pray what is the meaning that this transparent Lady holds up her train in her left hand? for I find your women on Medals do nothing without a meaning. Besides, I suppose there is a moral precept at least couch'd under the figure she holds in her other hand. She draws back her garment, says *Philander*, that it may not incumber her in her march. For she is always drawn in a posture of walking, it being as natural for *Hope* to press forward to her proper objects, as for *Fear* to fly from them.

Ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
Vidit, et hic prædam pedibus petit, ille salutem:
Alter in-hæsuro similis, jam jamque tenere
Sperat, et extento stringit vestigia rostro;
Alter in ambiguo est an sit comprensus, et ipsis
Morsibus eripitur, tangentiaque ora relinquit:
Sic deus et virgo est: hic spe celer, illa timore.
De Apol. et Daph. Ov. Met. Lib. 1.

As when th' impatient Greyhound slipt from far,
Bounds o'er the glebe to catch the fearful Hare,
She in her speed does all her safety lay:
And he with double speed pursues the prey;
O'er-runs her at the sitting turn, and licks
His chaps in vain, and blows upon the flix:
She 'scapes, and for the neighb'ring covert strives,
And gaining shelter doubts if yet she lives:———
Such was the god, and such the flying fair,
She, urg'd by Fear, her feet did swiftly move,
But he more swiftly, who was urg'd by Love. Mr. *Dryden.*

This beautiful similitude is, I think, the prettiest emblem in the world of *Hope* and *Fear* in extremity. A flower or blossome that you see in the right hand is a proper ornament for *Hope*, since they are these that we term in poetical language the Hopes of the year.

Vere novo, tunc herba nitens, et roboris expers
Turget et insolida est, et Spe delectat agrestes.
Omnia tum florent florumque coloribus almus
Ridet ager———————— Ov. Met. Lib. 15.

The green stem grows in stature and in size,
But only feeds with Hope the Farmer's eyes;
Then laughs the childish year with flowrets crown'd,
And lavishly perfumes the fields around. Mr. *Dryden.*

The same Poet in his *De fastis*, speaking of the Vine in flower, expresses it

In spe vitis erat———— Ov. de Fast. Lib. 5.

Fig. 9. The next on the List is a Lady of a contrary character, and therefore in a quite different posture. As *Security* is free from all pursuits, she is represented leaning carelessly on a pillar. *Horace* has drawn a pretty metaphor from this posture.

Nullum me a labore reclinat otium.

No ease doth lay me down from pain. Mr. *Creech.*

She rests her self on a pillar, for the same reason as the Poets often compare an obstinate resolution or a great firmness of mind, to a rock that is not to be moved by all the assaults of winds or waves.

Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ, neque Auster
Dux inquietæ turbidus Adriæ, &c. Hor.

The man resolv'd, and steady to his trust,
Inflexible to ill, and obstinately just,
May the rude Rabble's insolence despise,
Their senseless clamours and tumultuous cries;
The tyrant's fierceness he beguiles,
And the stern brow and the harsh voice defies,
And with superior greatness smiles.
Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
Adria's black gulf————*&c.* Mr. *Creech.*

I am apt to think it was on Devices of this nature that *Horace* had his eye in his Ode to *Fortune*. It is certain he alludes to a pillar that figured out *Security*, or something very like it; and till any body finds out another that will

stand better in its place, I think we may content our selves with this before us.

Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ
Urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni:
Injurioso nè pede proruas
Stantem columnam; neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.
Ad Fortunam. Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 35.

To thee their vows rough *Germans* pay,
To thee the wandring *Scythians* bend,
Thee mighty *Rome* proclaims a friend:
And for their Tyrant sons
The barb'rous Mothers pray
To thee, the greatest guardian of their Thrones.

They bend, they vow, and still they fear,
Lest you should kick their Column down,
And cloud the glory of their Crown;
They fear that you would raise
The lazy crowd to war,
And break their Empire, or confine their praise. Mr. *Creech.*

I must however be so fair as to let you know that *Peace* and *Felicity* have their pillars in several Medals as well as *Security*, so that if you do not like one of them, you may take the other.

Fig. 10. The next Figure is that of *Chastity*, who was worshipped as a Goddess, and had her Temple.

——————deinde ad superos Astræa recessit
Hâc comite, atque duæ pariter fugere sorores.
De pudicitia. Juv. Sat. 6.

At length uneasy *Justice* upwards flew,
And both the Sisters to the Stars withdrew. Mr. *Dryden.*

Templa pudicitiæ quid opus statuisse puellis,
Si cuivis nuptæ quidlibet esse licet? Tib. Lib. 2.

Since wives whate'er they please unblam'd can be,
Why rear we useless Fanes to *Chastity?*

How her posture and dress become her, you may see in the following verses.

Ergo sedens velat vultus, obnubit ocellos
Ista verecundi signa Pudoris erant. Alciat.

She sits, her visage veil'd, her eyes conceal'd,
By marks like these was *Chastity* reveal'd.

Ite procul vittæ tenues, insigne pudoris,
Quæque tegit medios instita longa pedes. Ov. de Art. Aman.

———*frontem limbo velata pudicam.* Claud. de Theod. Cons.

Hence! ye smooth fillets on the forehead bound,
Whose bands the brows of *Chastity* surround,
And her coy Robe that lengthens to the ground.

She is represented in the habit of a *Roman* Matron.

Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere possis,
Cætera, ni Catia est, demissâ veste tegentis. Hor. Sat. 2. Lib. 1.

Besides, a Matron's face is seen alone;
But *Kate*'s, that female bully of the town,
For all the rest is cover'd with a gown.

Mr. *Creech.*

That, *ni Catia est*, says *Cynthio*, is a beauty unknown to most of our *English* Satyrists. *Horace* knew how to stab with address, and to give a thrust where he was least expected. *Boileau* has nicely imitated him in this, as well as his other beauties. But our *English* Libellers are for hewing a man down-right, and for letting him see at a distance that he is to look for no mercy. I own to you, says *Eugenius*, I have often admired this piece of art in the two Satyrists you mention, and have been surprized to meet with a man in a Satire that I never in the least expected to find there. They have a particular way of hiding their ill nature, and introduce a criminal rather to illustrate a precept or passage, than out of any seeming design to abuse him. Our *English* Poets on the contrary show a kind of malice prepense in their Satires, and instead of bringing in the person to give light to any part of the

Poem, let you see they writ the whole Poem on purpose to abuse the person. But we must not leave the Ladies thus. Pray what kind of head-dress is that of *Piety?*

Fig. 11. As *Chastity*, says *Philander*, appears in the habit of a *Roman* matron, in whom that Virtue was supposed to reign in its perfection, *Piety* wears the dress of the Vestal Virgins, who were the greatest and most shining examples of it. *Vittata Sacerdos* is you know an expression among the *Latin* Poets. I do not question but you have seen in the Duke of *Florence*'s gallery a beautiful antique figure of a woman standing before an Altar, which some of the Antiquaries call a *Piety*, and others a Vestal Virgin. The woman, Altar, and fire burning on it, are seen in marble exactly as in this coin, and bring to my mind a part of a speech that *Religion* makes in *Phædrus*'s fables.

Sed ne ignis noster facinori præluceat,
Per quem verendos excolit Pietas deos. Fab. [11]. Li. 4.

It is to this Goddess that *Statius* addresses himself in the following lines.

Summa deum Pietas! cujus gratissima cælo
Rara profanatas inspectant numina terras,
Huc vittata comam, niveoque insignis amictu,
Qualis adhuc præsens, nullâque expulsa nocentum
Fraude rudes populos atque aurea regna colebas,
Mitibus exequiis ades, et lugentis Hetrusci
Cerne pios fletus, laudataque lumina terge. Statius Silv. Li. 3.

Chief of the Skies, celestial *Piety!*
Whose god-head, priz'd by those of heavenly birth,
Revisits rare these tainted realms of Earth,
Mild in thy milk-white vest, to sooth my friend,
With holy fillets on thy brows descend,
Such as of old (e'er chac'd by Guilt and Rage)
A race unpolisht, and a golden age,
Beheld thee frequent. Once more come below,
Mix in the soft solemnities of woe,
See, see, thy own *Hetruscus* wastes the day
In pious grief; and wipe his tears away.

The little trunk she holds in her left hand is the *Acerra* that you so often find among the Poets, in which the frankincense was preserv'd that *Piety* is here supposed to strow on the fire.

Dantque sacerdoti custodem thuris acerram. Ov. Met. Li. 13.

Hæc tibi pro nato plenâ dat lætus acerrâ
Phœbe———— Mart. Li. 4. Epig. 45.

The figure of *Equity* differs but little from that our painters make of her at present. The scales she carries in her hand are so natural an emblem of justice, that *Persius* has turned them into an allegory to express the decisions of right or wrong. Fig. 12.

———— *Quirites*
Hoc puto non justum est, illud male, rectius istud;
Scis etenim justum geminâ suspendere lance
Ancipitis Libræ.———— Socrat. ad Alcibiad. Sat. 4.

————*Romans*, know,
Against right reason all your counsels go;
This is not fair; nor profitable that:
Nor t'other question proper for debate.
But thou, no doubt, can'st set the business right,
And give each argument its proper weight:
Know'st with an equal hand to hold the scale, &c. Mr. *Dryden.*

The next figure I present you with is *Eternity*. She holds in her hand a globe with a Phœnix on it. How proper a type of *Eternity* is each of these you may see in the following quotations. I am sure you will pardon the length of the latter as it is not improper to the occasion, and shows at the same time the great fruitfulness of the Poet's fancy that could turn the same thought to so many different ways. Fig. 13.

Hæc Æterna manet, divisque simillima forma est,
Cui neque principium est usquam, nec finis: in ipso
Sed similis toto remanet, perque omnia par est.
de Rotunditate Corporum. Manil. Li. 1.

This form's eternal, and may justly claim
A god-like nature, all its parts the same;
Alike, and equal to its self 'tis found,
No end's and no beginning in a round:
Nought can molest its Being, nought controul,
And this enobles, and confines the whole. Mr. *Creech.*

Par volucer superis: Stellas qui vividus æquat
Durando, membrisque terit redeuntibus ævum.——
Nam pater est prolesque sui, nulloque creante
Emeritos artus fœcunda morte reformat,
Et petit alternam totidem per funera vitam.——
O senium positure rogo, falsisque sepulchris
Natales habiture vices, qu[i] sæpe renasci
Exitio, proprioque soles pubescere letho.——
O felix, hæresque tui! quo solvimur omnes,
Hoc tibi suppeditat vires, præbetur origo
Per cinerem, moritur te non pereunte senectus.
Vidisti quodcunque fuit. Te secula teste
Cuncta revolvuntur: nosti quo tempore pontus
Fuderit elatas scopulis stagnantibus undas:
Quis Phaetonteis erroribus arserit annus.
Et clades Te nulla rapit, solusque superstes
Edomitâ tellure manes, non stamina Parcæ
In Te dura legunt, non jus habuere nocendi de Phœnice. Claud.

A God-like bird! whose endless round of years
Outlasts the stars, and tires the circling spheres;——
Begot by none himself, begetting none,
Sire of himself he is, and of himself the son;
His life in fruitful death renews its date,
And kind destruction but prolongs his fate.——
O thou, says he, whom harmless fires shall burn,
Thy age the flame to second youth shall turn,
An infant's cradle is thy fun'ral urn.——
Thrice happy *Phœnix!* Heav'n's peculiar care
Has made thy self thy self's surviving heir.
By Death thy deathless vigour is supply'd,
Which sinks to ruine all the world beside.
Thy age, not thee, assisting *Phœbus* burns,
And vital flames light up thy fun'ral Urns.

Whate'er events have been thy eyes survey,
And thou art fix'd while ages roll away.
Thou saw'st when raging ocean burst his bed,
O'er-top'd the mountains, and the earth o'erspread;
When the rash youth inflam'd the high abodes,
Scorch'd up the skies, and scar'd the deathless Gods.
When nature ceases, thou shalt still remain,
Nor second Chaos bound thy endless reign;
Fate's tyrant laws thy happier lot shall brave,
Baffle destruction, and elude the grave.

The circle of rays that you see round the head of the *Phœnix* distinguish him to be the bird and offspring of the Sun.

Solis avi specimen——————————
Una est quæ reparet seque ipsa reseminet ales;
Assyrii Phœnica vocant: non fruge neque herbis,
Sed Thuris lacrymis, et succo vivit amomi.
Hæc ubi quinque suæ complevit secula vitæ,
Ilicis in ramis, tremulæve cacumine palmæ,
Unguibus et duro sibi nidum construit ore:
Quo simul ac casias, ac nardi lenis aristas
Quassaque cum fulvâ substravit cinnama myrrhâ,
Se super imponit, finitque in odoribus ævum.
Inde ferunt totidem qui vivere debeat annos
Corpore de patrio parvum phœnica renasci.
Cum dedit huic ætas vires, onerique ferendo est,
Ponderibus nidi ramos levat arboris altæ,
Fertque pius cunasque suas, patriumque Sepulchrum,
Perque leves auras Hyperionis urbe potitus
Ante fores sacras Hyperionis æde reponit. Ov. Met. Li. 15.
——————————*Titanius ales.* Claud. de Phœnice.

——From himself the *Phœnix* only springs:
Self-born, begotten by the parent Flame,
In which he burn'd, another and the same.
Who not by corn or herbs his life sustains,
But the sweet essence of *Amomum* drains:
And watches the rich gums *Arabia* bears,
While yet in tender dew they drop their tears.

He (his five centuries of life fulfill'd)
His nest on oaken boughs begins to build,
Or trembling tops of Palm, and first he draws
The plan with his broad bill and crooked claws,
Nature's artificers; on this the pile
Is form'd, and rises round; then with the spoil
Of *Casia*, *Cynamon*, and stems of *Nard*,
(For softness strew'd beneath) his fun'ral bed is rear'd:
Fun'ral and bridal both; and all around
The borders with corruptless Myrrh are crown'd,
On this incumbent; 'till ætherial flame
First catches, then consumes the costly frame;
Consumes him too, as on the pile he lies;
He liv'd on odours, and in odours dies.
An Infant-*Phœnix* from the former springs,
His father's heir, and from his tender wings
Shakes off his parent dust, his method he pursues,
And the same lease of life on the same terms renews.
When grown to manhood he begins his reign,
And with stiff pinions can his flight sustain,
He lightens of its load, the tree that bore
His father's royal sepulchre before,
And his own cradle: This (with pious care,
Plac'd on his back) he cuts the buxom air,
Seeks the Sun's city, and his sacred church,
And decently lays down his burthen in the porch. Mr. *Dryden.*

Sic ubi fœcundâ reparavit morte juventam,
Et patrios idem cineres, collectaque portat
Unguibus ossa piis, Nilique ad littora tendens
Unicus extremo Phœnix procedit ab Euro:
Conveniunt Aquilæ, cunctæque ex orbe volucres
Ut Solis mirentur avem———— Claud. de laud. Stil. L. 2.

So when his parent's pile hath ceas'd to burn,
Tow'rs the young *Phœnix* from the teeming urn:
And from the purple east, with pious toil
Bears the dear reliques to the distant *Nile*;
Himself a species! Then, the bird of *Jove*,
And all his plumy nation quit the grove;
The gay harmonious train delighted gaze,
Crowd the procession, and resound his praise.

The radiated head of the *Phœnix* gives us the meaning of a passage in *Ausonius*, which I was formerly surprized to meet with in the description of a Bird. But at present I am very well satisfied the Poet must have had his eye on the figure of this Bird in ancient sculpture and painting, as indeed it was impossible to take it from the life.

Ter nova Nestoreos implevit purpura fusos,
Et toties terno cornix vivacior ævo,
Quam novies terni glomerantem secula tractûs
Vincunt æripedes ter terno Nestore cervi,
Tres quorum ætates superat Phœbeijus oscen,
Quem novies senior Gangeticus anteit ales,
Ales cinnameo radiatus tempora nido. Auson. Eidyll. 11.

Arcanum radiant oculi jubar, igneus ora
Cingit honos, rutilo cognatum vertice sidus
Attollit cristatus apex, tenebrasque serenâ
Luce secat———— Claud. de Phæn.

His fiery eyes shoot forth a glitt'ring ray,
And round his head ten thousand glories play:
High on his crest, a Star celestial bright
Divides the darkness with its piercing light.

————*Procul ignea lucet*
Ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti. Cl. de laud. Stil. L. 2.

If you have a mind to compare this scale of Beings with that of *Hesiod*, I shall give it you in a translation of that Poet.

Ter binos deciesque novem super exit in annos
Justa senescentum quos implet vita virorum.
Hos novies superat vivendo garrula Cornix:
Et quater egreditur cornicis sæcula cervus.
Alipedem cervum ter vincit Corvus: at illum
Multiplicat novies Phœnix, reparabi[l]is ales.
Quam vos perpetuo decies prævertitis ævo
Nymphæ Hamadryades: quarum longissima vita est:
Hi cohibent fines vivacia fata animantum. Auson. Eidyl. 18.

The utmost age to man the Gods assign
Are winters three times two, and ten times nine:

Poor man nine times the prating Dawes exceed:
Three times the Dawe's the Deer's more lasting breed:
The Deer's full thrice the Raven's race outrun:
Nine times the Raven's *Titan*'s feather'd son:
Beyond his age, with youth and beauty crown'd,
The *Hamadryads* shine ten ages round:
Their breath the longest is the Fates bestow;
And such the bounds to mortal lives below.

A man had need be a good Arithmetician, says *Cynthio*, to understand this Author's works. His description runs on like a Multiplication Table. But methinks the Poets ought to have agreed a little better in the calculations of a Bird's life that was probably of their own creation.

Fig. 14. We generally find a great confusion in the traditions of the ancients, says *Philander*. It seems to me, from the next Medal, it was an opinion among them, that the *Phœnix* renewed her self at the beginning of the great year, and the return of the Golden Age. This opinion I find touched upon in a couple of lines in *Claudian*.

Quicquid ab externis ales longæva colonis
Colligit, optati referens exordia sæcli. Claud. de rapt. Pros. Li. 2.

The person in the midst of the circle is supposed to be *Jupiter*, by the Author that has published this Medal, but I should rather take it for the figure of Time. I remember I have seen at *Rome* an antique Statue of Time, with a wheel or hoop of marble in his hand, as *Seneca* describes him, and not with a serpent as he is generally represented.

——————properat cursu
Vita citato, volucrique die
Rota præcipitis volvitur anni. Herc. fur. Act. 1.

Life posts away,
And day from day drives on with swift carreer
The wheel that hurries on the headlong year.

As the circle of marble in his hand represents the common year, so this that encompasses him is a proper representation of the great year, which is the whole round and comprehension of Time. For when this is finished, the heavenly

bodies are supposed to begin their courses anew, and to measure over again the several periods and divisions of years, months, days, &c. into which the great year is distinguished.

———*consumto, Magnus qui dicitur, anno*
Rursus in antiquum venient vaga sidera cursum:
Qualia dispositi steterant ab origine mundi. Auson. Eidyl. 18.

When round the great Platonick year has turn'd,
In their old ranks the wandring stars shall stand
As when first marshal'd by th' Almighty's hand.

To sum up therefore the thoughts of this Medal. The inscription teaches us that the whole design must refer to the Golden Age which it lively represents, if we suppose the circle that encompasses *Time*, or if you please *Jupiter*, signifies the finishing of the great year; and that the *Phœnix* figures out the beginning of a new series of time. So that the compliment on this Medal to the Emperor *Adrian*, is in all respects the same that *Virgil* makes to *Pollio*'s son, at whose birth he supposes the *annus magnus* or platonical year run out, and renewed again with the opening of the Golden Age.

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo;
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:
Et nova progenies cælo demittitur alto. Virg. Ec. 4.

The time is come the *Sibyls* long foretold,
And the blest maid restores the Age of Gold
In the great wheel of *Time* before enroll'd.
Now a great progeny from Heav'n descends. Ld. *Lauderdale.*

———*nunc adest mundo dies*
Supremus ille, qui premat genus impium
Cæli ruinâ; rursus ut stirpem novam
Generet renascens melior: ut quondam tulit
Juvenis tenente regna Saturno poli. Sen. O[c]t. Act. 2.

———The last great day is come,
When earth and all her impious sons shall lie
Crusht in the ruines of the falling sky,

Whence fresh shall rise, her new-born realms to grace,
A pious offspring and a purer race,
Such as e'erwhile in golden ages sprung,
When *Saturn* govern'd, and the world was young.

You may compare the design of this reverse, if you please, with one of *Constantine*, so far as the *Phœnix* is concerned in both. As for the other figure, we may have occasion to speak of it in another place. *Vid.* 15 figure. King of *France*'s Medalions.

Fig. 16. The next figure shadows out *Eternity* to us, by the Sun in one hand and the Moon in the other, which in the language of sacred poetry is *as long as the Sun and Moon endureth.* The heathens made choice of these Lights as apt symbols of *Eternity*, because contrary to all sublunary Beings, though they seem to perish every night, they renew themselves every morning.

Soles occidere et redire possunt ;
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda. Catul.

The Suns shall often fall and rise:
But when the short-liv'd mortal dies
A night eternal seals his eyes.

Horace, whether in imitation of *Catullus* or not, has applied the same thought to the Moon : and that too in the plural number.

Damna tamen celeres reparant cœlestia lunæ :
Nos ubi decidimus
Quò pius Æneas, quò Tullus dives, et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus. Hor. Od. 7. Lib. 4.

Each loss the hastning Moon repairs again.

But we, when once our race is done,
With *Tullus* and *Anchises'* son,
(Tho' rich like one, like t'other good)
To dust and shades, without a Sun,
Descend, and sink in dark oblivion's flood. Sir *W. Temple.*

Fig. 17. In the next figure *Eternity* sits on a globe of the heavens adorned with stars. We have already seen how proper

an emblem of *Eternity* the globe is, and may find the duration of the stars made use of by the Poets, as an expression of what is never like to end.

——————Stellas qui vividus æquas
Durando—— Claud.

——————Polus dum sidera pascet,
Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt. Virg. Æn. L. 1.

Lucida dum current annosi sidera mundi, &c. Sen. [OEd.].

I might here tell you that *Eternity* has a covering on her head, because we can never find out her beginning; that her legs are bare, because we see only those parts of her that are actually running on; that she sits on a globe and bears a scepter in her hand, to shew she is sovereign Mistress of all things: but for any of these assertions I have no warrant from the Poets. *Vid.* Fig. 13.

You must excuse me, if I have been longer than ordinary on such a subject as *Eternity*. The next you see is *Victory*, to whom the Medallists as well as Poets never fail to give a pair of wings. Fig. 18.

Adfuit ipsa suis Ales Victoria—— Claud. de 6 Cons. Honor.

———dubijs volitat Victoria pennis. Ov.

———niveis Victoria concolor alis. Sil. It.

The palm branch and lawrel were both the rewards of Conquerors, and therefore no improper ornaments for *Victory*.

———lentæ Victoris præmia palmæ. Ov. Met.

Et palmæ pretium Victoribus. Virg. Æn. 5.

Tu ducibus lætis aderis cum læta triumphum
Vox canet, et longas visent capitolia pompas.
Apollo ad Laurum. Ov. Met.

Thou shalt the *Roman* festivals adorn;
Thou shalt returning *Cæsar*'s triumphs grace,
When pomps shall in a long procession pass. *Dryden.*

By the way you may observe the lower plaits of the Drapery that seem to have gathered the wind into them. I have seen abundance of antique figures in Sculpture and Painting, with just the same turn in the lower foldings of the Vest, when the person that wears it is in a posture of tripping forward.

Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina Vestes. Ov. Met. Lib. 1.

——————As she fled, the wind
Increasing, spread her flowing hair behind;
And left her legs and thighs expos'd to view. *Dryden.*

———*tenues sinuantur flamine vestes.* Id. Lib. 2.

It is worth while to compare this figure of *Victory* with her Statue as it is described in a very beautiful passage of *Prudentius.*

Non aris non farre molæ Victoria felix
Exorata venit: labor impiger, aspera virtus,
Vis animi, excellens ardor, violentia, cura,
Hanc tribuunt, durum tractandis robur in armis.
Quæ si defuerint bellantibus, aurea quamvis
Marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pinnas
Explicet, et multis surgat formata talentis:
Non aderit vestisque offensa videbitur hastis.
Quid miles propriis diffisus viribus optas
Irrita fœmineæ tibimet solatia formæ?
Nunquam pennigeram legio ferrata puellam
Vidit anhelantum regeret quæ tela virorum.
Vincendi quæris dominam? sua dextra cuique est,
Et Deus omnipotens. Non pexo crine virago,
Nec nudo suspensa pede, strophioque revincta,
Nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papillas.
Prudentius contra Symm. Li. 2.

Shall *Victory* intreated lend her aid
For cakes of flower on smoaking Altars laid?
Her help from toils and watchings hope to find,
From the strong body, and undaunted mind:
If these be wanting on th' embattel'd plain,
Ye sue the unpropitious maid in vain.

Though in her marble temples taught to blaze
Her dazling wings the golden dame displays,
And many a talent in due weight was told
To shape her God-head in the curious mould,
Shall the rough soldier of himself despair,
And hope for female visions in the air?
What legion sheath'd in iron e'er survey'd
Their darts directed by this winged maid!
Do'st thou the power that gives success demand?
'Tis He th' Almighty, and thy own right hand;
Not the smooth Nymph, whose locks in knots are twin'd,
Who bending shows her naked foot behind,
Who girds the virgin zone beneath her breast,
And from her bosom heaves the swelling vest.

Fig. 19. You have here another *Victory* that I fancy *Claudian* had in his view when he mentions her wings, palm and trophy in the following description. It appears on a Coin of *Constantine* who lived about an age before *Claudian*, and I believe we shall find that it is not the only piece of antique sculpture that this Poet has copied out in his descriptions.

———————*cum totis exurgens ardua pennis*
Ipsa duci sacras Victoria panderet ædes,
Et palma viridi gaudens, et amicta trophæis.
Claud. de Lau. Stil. Li. 3.

On all her plumage rising when she threw
Her sacred shrines wide-open to thy view,
How pleas'd for thee her emblems to display,
With palms distinguish'd, and with trophies gay.

Fig. 20. The last of our imaginary Beings is *Liberty*. In her left hand she carries the wand that the *Latins* call the *Rudis* or *Vindicta*, and in her right the cap of Liberty. The Poets use the same kinds of metaphors to express Liberty. I shall quote *Horace* for the first whom *Ovid* has imitated on the same occasion, and for the latter *Martial*.

———————*donatum jam rude quæris*
Mecænas iterum antiquo me includere ludo. *Hor. Lib.* 1. *Epist.* 1.

——————tardâ vires minuente senectâ
Me quoque donari jam rude tempus erat. Ov. de Tr. Lib. 4. El. 8.

Since bent beneath the load of years I stand,
I too might claim the freedom-giving wand.

Quod te nomine jam tuo saluto
Quem regem, et dominum priùs vocabam,
Nè me dixeris esse contumacem
Totis pilea sarcinis redemi. Mar. Lib. 2. Epig. 68.

By thy plain name though now addrest,
Though once my King and Lord confest,
Frown not: with all my goods I buy
The precious Cap of Liberty.

I cannot forbear repeating a passage out of *Persius*, says *Cynthio*, that in my opinion turns the ceremony of making a Freeman very handsomely into ridicule. It seems the clapping a Cap on his head and giving him a Turn on the heel were necessary circumstances. A Slave thus qualified became a Citizen of *Rome*, and was honoured with a name more than belonged to any of his Forefathers, which *Persius* has repeated with a great deal of humour.

——————Heu steriles veri, quibus una Quiritem
Vertigo facit! hic Dama est, non tressis agaso,
Vappa, et lippus, et in tenui farragine mendax.
Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama. Papæ! Marco spondente, recusas
Credere tu nummos? Marco sub Judice palles?
Marcus dixit, ita est: assigna, Marce, tabellas.
Hæc mera libertas: hanc nobis pilea donant. Pers. Sat. 5.

That false Enfranchisement with ease is found:
Slaves are made Citizens by turning round.
How! replies one, can any be more free?
Here's *Dama*, once a Groom of low degree,
Not worth a farthing, and a Sot beside;
So true a Rogue, for lying's sake he ly'd:
But, with a Turn, a Freeman he became;
Now *Marcus Dama* is his Worship's name.

Good Gods! who wou'd refuse to lend a sum,
If wealthy *Marcus* surety wou'd become!
Marcus is made a Judge, and for a proof
Of certain truth, *he said it*, is enough.
A Will is to be prov'd; put in your claim;
'Tis clear, if *Marcus* has subscrib'd his name.
This is true liberty, as I believe;
What farther can we from our Caps receive,
Than as we please without controul to live? Mr. *Dryden.*

Since you have given us the ceremony of the Cap, says *Eugenius*, I'll give you that of the Wand, out of *Claudian.*

Te fastos ineunte quater, sollennia ludit
Omina libertas, deductum Vindice morem
Lex celebrat, famulusque jugo laxatus herili
Ducitur, et grato remeat securior ictu.
Tristis conditio pulsata fronte recedit:
In civem rubuere genæ, tergoque removit
Verbera promissi felix injuria voti. Claud. de 4. Cons. Hon.

The *Grato ictu* and the *felix injuria*, says *Cynthio*, would have told us the name of the Author, though you had said nothing of him. There is none of all the Poets that delights so much in these pretty kinds of contradictions as *Claudian.* He loves to set his Epithet at variance with its substantive, and to surprize his Reader with a seeming absurdity. If this Poet were well examined, one would find that some of his greatest beauties as well as faults arise from the frequent use of this particular figure.

I question not, says *Philander*, but you are tired by this time with the company of so mysterious a sort of Ladies as those we have had before us. We will now, for our diversion, entertain our selves with a sett of Riddles, and see if we can find a key to them among the ancient Poets. The first of them, says *Cynthio*, is a Ship under sail, I suppose it has at least a metaphor or moral precept for its cargo. This, says *Philander*, is an emblem of Happiness, as you may see by the inscription it carries in its sails. We find the same Device to express the same thought in several of the Poets: as in *Horace*, when he speaks of the modera- *Second Series.* Fig. 1.

tion to be used in a flowing fortune, and in *Ovid* when he reflects on his past happiness.

Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare: sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimiùm secundo
Turgida vela. Hor. Od. 10. Lib. 2.

When *Fortune* sends a stormy wind,
Then shew a brave and present mind:
And when with too indulgent gales
She swells too much, then furl thy sails. Mr. *Creech.*

Nominis et famæ quondam fulgore trahebar,
Dum tulit antennas aura secunda meas.
Ov. de Tris. Lib. 5. El. 12.

En ego, non paucis quondam munitus amicis,
Dum flavit velis aura secunda meis. Id. Epist. ex Ponto 3. Lib. 2.

I liv'd the darling Theme of ev'ry tongue,
The golden Idol of th' adoring throng;
Guarded with friends, while *Fortune*'s balmy gales
Wanton'd auspicious in my swelling sails

You see the Metaphor is the same in the Verses as in the Medal, with this distinction only, that the one is in words and the other in figures. The Idea is alike in both, though the manner of representing it is different. If you would see the whole Ship made use of in the same sense by an old Poet, as it is here on the Medal, you may find it in a pretty Allegory of *Seneca.*

Fata si liceat mihi
Fingere arbitrio meo,
Temperem zephyro levi
Vela, nè pressæ gravi
Spiritu antennæ tremant.
Lenis et modicè fluens
Aura, nec vergens latus,
Ducat intrepidam ratem. Sen. OEdip. Chor. Act. 4.

My fortune might I form at will,
My canvas Zephyrs soft should fill

With gentle breath, lest ruder gales
Crack the main-yard, or burst the sails.
By winds that temperately blow
The Barque should pass secure and slow,
Nor scar me leaning on her side:
But smoothly cleave th' unruffled tide.

After having considered the Ship as a Metaphor, we may now look on it as a Reality, and observe in it the Make of the old *Roman* vessels, as they are described among the Poets. It is carried on by oars and sails at the same time.

Sive opus est velis minimam bene currit ad auram,
Sive opus est remo remige carpit iter. Ov. de Tris. Li. 1. El. 10.

The Poop of it has the bend that *Ovid* and *Virgil* mention.

——————————*puppique recurvæ.* Ibid. Li. 1. El. 3.
——————————*littora curvæ*
Prætexunt puppes—————————— Virg.

You see the description of the Pilot, and the place he sits on, in the following quotations.

Ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ. Virg. Æn. Li. 5.

Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit. excutitur, pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput.———————— Id. Æn. Li. 1.

Orontes' bark, that bore the *Lycian* crew,
(A horrid sight) ev'n in the Hero's view,
From stem to stern, by waves was overborn;
The trembling Pilot, from his rudder torn,
Was headlong hurl'd;———————— Mr. *Dryden.*

——————————*Segnemque Menœten,*
Oblitus decorisque sui sociûmque salutis,
In mare præcipitem puppi deturbat ab altâ:
Ipse gubernaclo rector subit. Id. Æn. Li. 5.

Mindless of others lives, (so high was grown
His rising rage,) and careless of his own:
The trembling dotard to the deck he drew,
And hoisted up, and overboard he threw;
This done, he seiz'd the helm———————— Mr. *Dryden.*

I have mentioned these two last passages of *Virgil*, because I think we cannot have so right an idea of the Pilot's misfortune in each of them, without observing the situation of his post, as appears in ancient Coins. The figure you see on the other end of the ship is a *Triton*, a man in his upper parts, and a fish below with a trumpet in his mouth. *Virgil* describes him in the same manner on one of *Æneas*'s ships. It was probably a common figure on their ancient vessels, for we meet with it too in *Silius Italicus*.

Hunc vehit immanis Triton, et cærula conchâ
Exterrens freta: cui laterum tenus hispida nanti
Frons hominem præfert, in pristim desinit alvus;
Spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda. Vir. [Æ]n. Li. 10.

The *Triton* bears him, he, whose trumpet's sound
Old Ocean's waves from shore to shore rebound.
A hairy man above the waste he shews,
A Porpoise tail down from his belly grows,
The billows murmur, which his breast oppose. Ld. *Lauderdale.*

Ducitur et Libyæ puppis signata figuram
Et Triton captivus.——————— Sil. It. Li. 14.

I am apt to think, says *Eugenius*, from certain passages of the Poets, that several ships made choice of some God or other for their guardians, as among the *Roman* Catholics every vessel is recommended to the patronage of some particular Saint. To give you an instance of two or three.

Est mihi sitque precor flavæ tutela Minervæ
Navis——————————— Ov. de Tris. Li. 1. El. 10.

Numen erat celsæ puppis vicina Dione. Sil. It. Li. 14.

Hammon numen erat Libycæ gentile carinæ,
Cornigeráque sedens spectabat cærula fronte. Ibid.

The poop great *Ammon Libya's* god display'd,
Whose horned front the nether flood survey'd.

The figure of the Deity was very large, as I have seen it on other Medals as well as this you have shown us, and stood on one end of the vessel that it patronised. This may give

us an image of a very beautiful circumstance that we meet with in a couple of wrecks described by *Silius Italicus*, and *Persius*.

———*Subito cum pondere victus*
Insiliente mari submergitur alveus undis.
Scuta virûm cristæque, et inerti spicula ferro
Tutelæque Deûm fluitant.——— Sil. It. Li. 14.

Sunk by a weight so dreadful down she goes,
And o'er her head the broken billows close,
Bright shields and crests float round the whirling floods,
And useless spears confus'd with tutelary Gods.

———*trabe ruptâ Bruttia saxa*
Prendit amicus inops, remque omnem surdaque vota
Condidit: Iönio jacet ipse in littore, et unà
Ingentes de puppe Dei, jamque obvia mergis
Costa ratis laceræ.——— Pers. Sat. 6.

My friend is shipwreck'd on the *Brutian* strand,
His riches in th' *Ionian* main are lost;
And he himself stands shiv'ring on the coast.
Where, destitute of help, forlorn and bare,
He wearies the deaf Gods with fruitless pray'r.
Their images, the relicks of the wrack,
Torn from their naked poop, are tided back
By the wild waves; and rudely thrown ashore,
Lie impotent, nor can themselves restore.
The vessel sticks, and shews her open'd side,
And on her shatter'd mast the Mews in triumph ride. Mr. *Dryden.*

You will think perhaps I carry my conjectures too far, if I tell you that I fancy they are these kind of Gods that *Horace* mentions in his Allegorical vessel which was so broken and shattered to pieces; for I am apt to think that *integra* relates to the Gods as well as the *Lintea*.

———*non tibi sunt integra lintea,*
Non Dii, quos iterum pressa voces malo. Hor. Od. 14. Lib. 1.

Thy stern is gone, thy Gods are lost,
And thou hast none to hear thy cry,
When thou on dang'rous shelves art tost,
When billows rage, and winds are high. Mr. *Creech.*

Fig. 2. Since we are engaged so far in the *Roman* shipping, says *Philander*, I'll here show you a Medal that has on its reverse a *Rostrum* with three teeth to it: whence *Silius*'s *trifidum rostrum* and *Virgil*'s *rostrisque tridentibus*, which in some editions is *stridentibus*, the Editor chusing rather to make a false quantity than to insert a word that he did not know the meaning of. *Flaccus* gives us a *Rostrum* of the same make.

———volat immissis cava pinus habenis
Infinditque salum, et spumas vomit ære tridenti.
Val. Flac. Argon. Li. 1.

A Ship-carpenter of old *Rome*, says *Cynthio*, could not have talked more judiciously. I am afraid, if we let you alone, you will find out every plank and rope about the vessel among the *Latin* Poets. Let us now, if you please, go to the next Medal.

Fig. 3. The next, says *Philander*, is a pair of Scales, which we meet with on several old Coins. They are commonly interpreted as an emblem of the Emperor's Justice. But why may not we suppose that they allude sometimes to the Balance in the Heavens, which was the reigning constellation of *Rome* and *Italy*. Whether it be so or no, they are capable methinks of receiving a nobler interpretation than what is commonly put on them, if we suppose the thought of the reverse to be the same as that in *Manilius*.

Hesperiam sua Libra tenet, quâ condita Roma
Et propriis frænat pendentem nutibus orbem,
Orbis et Imperium retinet, discrimina rerum
Lancibus, et positas gentes tollitque premitque:
Qua genitus cum fratre Remus hanc condidit urbem. Manil. Lib. 4.

The Scales rule *Italy*, where *Rome* commands,
And spreads its empire wide to foreign lands:
They hang upon her nod, their fates are weigh'd
By her, and laws are sent to be obey'd:
And as her pow'rful favour turns the poize,
How low some nations sink and others rise!
Thus guide the Scales, and then to fix our doom,
They gave us* *Cæsar*, Founder of our *Rome*. Mr. *Creech*.

* So *Vossius* reads it.

The Thunderbolt is a reverse of *Augustus*. We see it used by the greatest Poet of the same age to express a terrible and irresistable force in battle, which is probably the meaning of it on this Medal, for in another place the same Poet applys the same metaphor to *Augustus*'s person. Fig. 4.

———————*duo Fulmina belli*
Scipiadas———————— Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

————————Who can declare
The *Scipio's* worth, those Thunderbolts of war? Mr. *Dryden.*

————————*dum Cæsar ad altum*
Fulminat Euphratem bello——— Id. Georg. Lib. 4.

While mighty *Cæsar*, thund'ring from afar,
Seeks on *Euphrates'* banks the spoils of war. Mr. *Dryden.*

I have sometimes wondered, says *Eugenius*, why the *Latin* Poets so frequently give the Epithets of *trifidum* and *trisulcum* to the Thunderbolt. I am now persuaded they took it from the sculptors and painters that lived before them, and had generally given it three forks as in the present figure. *Virgil* insists on the number three in its description, and seems to hint at the wings we see on it. He has worked up such a noise and terror in the composition of his Thunderbolt as cannot be expressed by a pencil or graving-tool.

Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosæ
Addiderant, rutili tres ignis, et Alitis Austri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras. Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

Three rays of writhen rain, of fire three more,
Of winged southern winds, and cloudy store
As many parts, the dreadful mixture frame,
And fears are added, and avenging flame. Mr. *Dryden.*

Our next reverse is an Oaken Garland, which we find on abundance of Imperial Coins. I shall not here multiply quotations to show that the garland of Oak was the reward of such as had saved the life of a citizen, but will give you a passage out of *Claudian*, where the compliment to *Stilico* Fig. 5.

is the same that we have here on the Medal. I question not but the old Coins gave the thought to the Poet.

Mos erat in veterum castris, ut tempora quercu
Velaret, validis qui fuso viribus hoste
Casurum potuit morti subducere civem.
At tibi quæ poterit pro tantis civica reddi
Mœnibus? aut quantæ pensabunt facta coronæ?
Clau. de Lau. Stil. Lib. 3.

Of old, when in the war's tumultuous strife
A *Roman* sav'd a brother *Roman*'s life,
And foil'd the threatning foe, our Sires decreed
An Oaken Garland for the victor's meed.
Thou, who hast sav'd whole crowds, whole towns set free,
What groves, what woods, shall furnish crowns for thee?

It is not to be supposed that the Emperor had actually covered a *Roman* in battle. It is enough that he had driven out a tyrant, gained a victory, or restored Justice. For in any of these or the like cases he may very well be said to have saved the life of a citizen, and by consequence entitled to the reward of it. Accordingly we find *Virgil* distributing his Oaken garlands to those that had enlarged or strength'ned the dominions of *Rome*; as we may learn from *Statius* that the statue of *Curtius*, who had sacrificed himself for the good of the people, had the head surrounded with the same kind of ornament.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.
Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces. Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

But they, who crown'd with Oaken wreaths appear,
Shall *Gabian* walls and strong *Fidena* rear:
Nomentum, *Bola*, with *Pometia*, found;
And raise *Colatian* tow'rs on rocky ground. Mr. *Dryden*.

Ipse loci custos, cujus sacrata vorago,
Famosusque lacus nomen memorabile servat,
Innumeros æris sonitus, et verbere crudo
Ut sensit mugire forum, movet horrida sancto
Ora situ, meritâque caput venerabile quercu. Statius Sylv. Lib. 1.

The Guardian of that Lake, which boasts to claim
A sure memorial from the *Curtian* name;
Rous'd by th' artificers, whose mingled sound
From the loud *Forum* pierc'd the shades profound,
The hoary vision rose confess'd in view,
And shook the Civic wreath that bound his brow.

The two horns that you see on the next Medal are emblems of *Plenty*. Fig. 6.

——————*apparetque beata pleno*
Copia Cornu. Hor. Car. Sæc.

Your Medallists tell us that two Horns on a Coin signify an extraordinary Plenty. But I see no foundation for this conjecture. Why should they not as well have stamped two Thunder-bolts, two *Caduceus's*, or two Ships, to represent an extraordinary force, a lasting peace, or an unbounded happiness. I rather think that the double *Cornu-copia* relates to the double tradition of its original. Some representing it as the horn of *Achelous* broken off by *Hercules*, and others as the horn of the Goat that gave suck to *Jupiter*.

——————*rigidum fera dextera cornu*
Dum tenet, infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.
Naiades hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum,
Sacrârunt; divesque meo bona Copia cornu est.
Dixerat: at Nymphe ritu succincta Dianæ
Una ministrarum, fusis utrinque capillis,
Incessit, totumque tulit prædivite cornu
Autumnum, et mensas felicia poma secundas.
De Acheloi Cornu. Ov. Met. Lib. 9.

Nor yet his fury cool'd; 'twixt rage and scorn,
From my maim'd front he bore the stubborn horn:
This, heap'd with flowers and fruits the *Naiads* bear,
Sacred to Plenty and the bounteous year.
He spoke; when lo a beauteous Nymph appears,
Girt like *Diana's* train, with flowing hairs;
The horn she brings, in which all Autumn's stor'd;
And ruddy apples for the second board. Mr. *Gay*.

Lac dabat illa Deo: sed fregit in arbore cornu:
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat.
Sustulit hoc Nymphe; cinctumque recentibus herbis,
Et plenum pomis ad Jovis ora tulit.
Ille, ubi res cœli tenuit, solioque paterno
Sedit, et invicto nil Jove majus erat,
Sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu
Fecit; quod dominæ nunc quoque nomen habet.
De Cornu Amaltheæ. Ov. de Fast. Lib. 5.

The God she suckled of old *Rhea* born;
And in the pious office broke her horn,
As playful in a rifted Oak she tost
Her heedless head, and half its honours lost.
Fair *Amalthæa* took it off the ground,
With apples fill'd it and with garlands bound,
Which to the smiling infant she convey'd.
He, when the sceptre of the Gods he sway'd,
When bold he seiz'd his father's vacant throne,
And reign'd the tyrant of the skies alone,
Bid his rough nurse the starry Heavens adorn
And grateful in the Zodiac fix'd her Horn.

Betwixt the double *Cornu-copia* you see *Mercury*'s rod.

Cyllenes cœlique decus, facunde minister,
Aurea cui torto virga dracone viret. Mart. Lib. 7. Epig. 74.

Descend, *Cyllene's* tutelary God,
With serpents twining round thy golden rod.

It stands on old Coins as an emblem of Peace, by reason of its stupifying quality that has gained it the title of *Virga somnifera.* It has wings, for another quality that *Virgil* mentions in his description of it.

————*hac fretus ventos et nubila tranat.* Virg.

Thus arm'd, the God begins his airy race,
And drives the racking clouds along the liquid space. Mr. *Dryden.*

The two heads over the *Cornu-copiæ* are of the Emperor's children, who are sometimes called among the Poets the

pledges of Peace, as they took away the occasions of war in cutting off all disputes to the succession.

——————tu mihi primum
Tot natorum memoranda parens——
Utero toties enixa gravi
Pignora pacis. Sen. Octav. Act. 5.

Thee first kind author of my joys,
Thou source of many smiling boys,
Nobly contented to bestow
A pledge of peace in every throe.

This Medal therefore compliments the Emperor on his two children, whom it represents as public blessings that promise Peace and Plenty to the Empire.

The two hands that joyn one another are Emblems of *Fidelity*. Fig. 7.

Inde Fides dextræque datæ—— Ov. Met. L. 14.

Sociemus animos, pignus hoc fidei cape,
Continge dextram—————— Sen. Herc. Fur. Act. 2.

——————en dextra fidesque
Quem secum patrios aiunt portare penates! Virg. Æn. Lib. 4.

See now the promis'd faith, the vaunted name,
The pious man, who, rushing thro' the flame,
Preserv'd his Gods—— Mr. *Dryden*

By the Inscription we may see that they represent in this place the Fidelity or Loyalty of the public towards their Emperor. The *Caduceus* rising between the hands signifies the Peace that arises from such an union with their Prince, as the spike of Corn on each side shadows out the Plenty that is the fruit of such a peace.

Pax Cererem nutrit, pacis alumna Ceres. Ov. de Fast. Lib. 1.

The giving of a hand, in the reverse of *Claudius*, is a token of good will. For when, after the death of his nephew *Caligula*, *Claudius* was in no small apprehension for his own life, he was, contrary to his expectation, well received among the *Prætorian* guards, and afterwards Fig. 8.

declared their Emperor. His reception is here recorded on a Medal, in which one of the Ensigns presents him his hand, in the same sense as *Anchises* gives it in the following verses.

Ipse pater dextram Anchises haud multa moratus
Dat juveni, atque animum præsenti munere firmat.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 3.

The old weather-beaten soldier that carries in his hand the *Roman* Eagle, is the same kind of officer that you meet with in *Juvenal*'s fourteenth Satire.

Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem Aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
Afferat———— Juv. Sat. 14.

I remember in one of the Poets the *Signifer* is described with a Lion's skin over his head and shoulders, like this we see in the Medal, but at present I cannot recollect the passage. *Virgil* has given us a noble description of a warrior making his appearance under a Lion's skin.

———*tegmen torquens immane Leonis*
Terribili impexum setâ, cum dentibus albis
Indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat
Horridus, Herculeoque humeros indutus amictu.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 7.

Like *Hercules* himself his Son appears,
In salvage pomp: a Lion's hide he wears;
About his shoulders hangs the shaggy skin,
The teeth, and gaping jaws severely grin.
Thus like the God his father, homely drest,
He strides into the hall, a horrid guest[.] Mr. *Dryden.*

Since you have mentioned the dress of your Standard-bearer, says *Cynthio*, I cannot forbear remarking that of *Claudius*, which was the usual *Roman* habit. One may see in this Medal, as well as in any antique Statues, that the old *Romans* had their necks and arms bare, and as much exposed to view as our hands and faces are at present. Before I had made this remark, I have sometimes wondered

to see the *Roman* Poets, in their descriptions of a beautiful man, so often mentioning the Turn of his Neck and Arms, that in our modern dresses lie out of sight, and are covered under part of the cloathing. Not to trouble you with many quotations, *Horace* speaks of both these parts of the body in the beginning of an Ode, that in my opinion may be reckoned among the finest of his book, for the naturalness of the thought, and the beauty of the expression.

Dum tu Lydia Telephi
Cervicem roseam, et cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, væ meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.

When *Telephus* his youthful charms,
His rosy neck, and winding arms,
With endless rapture you recite,
And in that pleasing name delight;
My heart, inflam'd by jealous heats,
With numberless resentments beats;
From my pale cheek the colour flies,
And all the Man within me dies.

It was probably this particular in the *Roman* habit that gave *Virgil* the thought in the following verse, where *Remulus*, among other reproaches that he makes the *Trojans* for their softness and effeminacy, upbraids them with the Make of their *Tunica's* that had sleeves to them, and did not leave the arms naked and exposed to the weather like that of the *Romans*.

Et tunicæ manicas, et habent ridimicula mitræ.

Virgil lets us know in another place, that the *Italians* preserved their old language and habits, notwithstanding the *Trojans* became their Masters, and that the *Trojans* themselves quitted the dress of their own country for that of *Italy*. This he tells us was the effect of a prayer that *Juno* made to *Jupiter*.

Illud te, nullâ fati quod lege tenetur,
Pro Latio obtestor, pro majestate tuorum:
Cum jam connubiis pacem felicibus (esto;)
Component, cum jam leges et fœdera jungent;

Nè vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucrosque vocari;
Aut vocem mutare viros, aut vertere vestes.
Sit Latium, sint Albani per sæcula reges:
Sit Romana potens Italâ virtute propago:
Occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troja. Æn. lib. 12.

This let me beg (and this no Fates withstand)
Both for my self, and for your father's land,
That when the nuptial bed shall bind the peace,
(Which I, since you ordain, consent to bless)
The laws of either nation be the same;
But let the *Latins* still retain their name:
Speak the same language, which they spoke before,
Wear the same habits, which their Grandsires wore.
Call them not *Trojans:* perish the renown
And name of *Troy*, with that detested town.
Latium be *Latium* still: let *Alba* reign,
And *Rome*'s immortal Majesty remain. Mr. *Dryden.*

By the way, I have often admired at *Virgil* for representing his *Juno* with such an impotent kind of revenge as what is the subject of this speech. You may be sure, says *Eugenius*, that *Virgil* knew very well this was a trifling kind of request for the Queen of the Gods to make, as we may find by *Jupiter*'s way of accepting it.

Olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor:
Et germana Jovis, Saturnique altera proles:
Irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus?
Verum age, et inceptum frustra submitte furorem.
Do, quod vis; et me victusque volensque remitto.
Sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt.
Utque est, nomen erit: commixti corpore tantùm
Subsident Teucri: morem ritusque sacrorum
Adjiciam, faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos, &c. Æn. Lib. 12.

Then thus the Founder of mankind replies.
(Unruffled was his front, serene his eyes,)
Can *Saturn*'s issue, and Heav'ns other Heir,
Such endless anger in her bosom bear?
Be Mistress, and your full desires obtain;
But quench the choler you foment in vain.

From ancient blood th' *Ausonian* people sprung,
Shall keep their name, their habit, and their tongue.
The *Trojans* to their customs shall be ty'd,
I will my self their common rites provide;
The natives shall command, the foreigners subside:
A[ll] shall be *Latium*; *Troy* without a name:
And her lost sons forget from whence they came. Mr. *Dryden*.

I am apt to think *Virgil* had a further view in this request of *Juno* than what his Commentators have discovered in it. He knew very well that his *Æneid* was founded on a very doubtful story, and that *Æneas*'s coming into *Italy* was not universally received among the *Romans* themselves. He knew too that a main objection to this story was the great difference of Customs, Language and Habits among the *Romans* and *Trojans*. To obviate therefore so strong an objection, he makes this difference to arise from the forecast and præ-determination of the Gods themselves. But pray what is the name of the Lady in the next Medal? Methinks she is very particular in her Quoiffure.

It is the emblem of Fruitfulness, says *Philander*, and was designed as a compliment to *Julia* the wife of *Septimius Severus*, who had the same number of children as you see on this Coin. Her head is crowned with towers in allusion to *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, and for the same reason that *Virgil* compares the city of *Rome* to her. Fig. 9.

Felix prole virûm, qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
Læta Deûm partu———— Virg. Æn. Li. 6.

High as the mother of the Gods in place,
And proud, like her, of an immortal race.
Then when in pomp she makes a *Phrygian* round,
With golden turrets on her temples crown'd. Mr. *Dryden*.

The Vine issuing out of the Urn speaks the same sense as that in the Psalmist. *Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine on the walls of thy house.* The four Stars overhead, and the same number on the Globe, represent the four children. There is a Medalion of *Romulus* and *Remus* sucking the wolf, with a Star over each of their heads, as we find the *Latin*

Poets speaking of the children of Princes under the same metaphor.

Utque tui faciunt sidus juvenile nepotes,
Per tua perque sui facta parentis eant. Ov. de Tris. Li. 2. El. 1.

———*Tu quoque extinctus jaces,*
Deflende nobis semper, infelix puer,
Modo sidus orbis, columen augustæ domûs,
Britannice.———————— Sen. Octav. Act. 1.

Thou too dear youth, to ashes turn'd,
Britannicus, for ever mourn'd!
Thou Star that wont this Orb to grace!
Thou pillar of the *Julian* race!

———*Maneas hominum contentus habenis,*
Undarum terræque potens, et sidera dones. Stat. Theb. Li. 1.

———Stay, great *Cæsar*, and vouchsafe to reign
O'er the wide earth, and o'er the watry main;
Resign to *Jove* his Empire of the skies,
And people Heav'n with *Roman* Deities. Mr. *Pope.*

I need not mention *Homer*'s comparing *Astyanax* to the Morning-star, nor *Virgil*'s imitation of him in his description of *Ascanius*.

Fig. 10. The next Medal was stampt on the marriage of *Nero* and *Octavia*; you see the Sun over the head of *Nero*, and the Moon over that of *Octavia*. They face one another according to the situation of these two Planets in the Heavens.

————*Phœbeis obvia flammis*
Demet nocti Luna timores. Sen. Thyest. Act. 4.

And to shew that *Octavia* derived her whole lustre from the friendly aspect of her husband.

Sicut Luna suo tunc tantum deficit orbe,
Quum Phœbum adversis currentem non vidit astris. Manil. Lib. 4.

Because the Moon then only feels decay,
When opposite unto her brother's ray. Mr. *Creech.*

But if we consider the history of this Medal, we shall find more Fancy in it than the Medallists have yet discovered. *Nero* and *Octavia* were not only husband and wife, but brother and sister, *Claudius* being the father of both. We have this relation between them marked out in the Tragedy of *Octavia*, where it speaks of her marriage with *Nero*.

Fratris thalamos sortita tenet
Maxima Juno: soror Augusti
Sociata toris, cur à patriâ
Pellitur Aula?——— Sen. Oct. Act. 1.

To *Jove* his sister consort wed,
Uncensur'd shares her brother's bed:
Shall *Cæsar*'s wife and sister wait,
An Exile at her husband's gate?

Implebit aulam stirpe cælesti tuam
Generata divo, Claudiæ gentis decus,
Sortita fratris, more Junonis, toros. Ibid. Act. 2.

Thy sister, bright with ev'ry blooming grace,
Will mount thy bed t' inlarge the *Claudian* race:
And proudly teeming with fraternal love,
Shall reign a *Juno* with the *Roman Jove*.

They are therefore very prettily represented by the Sun and Moon, who as they are the most glorious parts of the universe, are in poetical genealogy brother and sister. *Virgil* gives us a sight of them in the same position that they regard each other on this Medal.

Nec Fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna. Virg. Georg. 1.

The flattery on the next Medal is in the same thought as that of *Lucretius*. Fig. 11.

Ipse Epicurus obit decurso lumine vitæ;
Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omneis
Præstinxit, stellas exortus uti ætherius Sol. Lucret. Lib. 3.

Nay, *Epicurus*' race of life is run;
That man of wit, who other men outshone;
As far as meaner stars the mid-day Sun. Mr. *Creech*.

The Emperor appears as the Rising Sun, and holds a Globe in his hand, to figure out the Earth that is enlightned and actuated by his beauty.

Sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras. Virg.

———ubi primos crastinus ortus
Extulerit Titan, radiisque retexerit orbem. Id.

When next the Sun his rising light displays,
And gilds the world below with purple rays. Mr. *Dryden.*

On his head you see the rays that seem to grow out of it. *Claudian* in the description of his infant *Titan* descants on this glory about his head, but has run his description into most wretched fustian.

Invalidum dextro portat Titana lacerto,
Nondum luce gravem, nec pubescentibus altè
Cristatum radiis; primo clementior ævo
Fingitur, et tenerum vagitu despuit ignem.
Claud. de rapt. Pros. Lib. 2.

An infant *Titan* held she in her arms;
Yet sufferably bright, the eye might bear
The ungrown glories of his beamy hair.
Mild was the babe, and from his cries there came
A gentle breathing and a harmless flame.

Fig. 12. The Sun rises on a Medal of *Commodus*, as *Ovid* describes him in the story of *Phaeton.*

Ardua prima via est, et quà vix manè recentes
Enituntur equi——— Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

You have here too the four horses breaking through the clouds in their morning passage.

———Pyroëis, et Eöus, et Æthon,
Solis equi, quartusque Phlegon——— Ibid.

Corripuere viam, pedibusque per aëra motis
Obstantes scindunt nebulas——— Ibid.

The woman underneath represents the Earth, as *Ovid* has drawn her sitting in the same figure.

Sustulit omniferos collo tenus arida vultus;
Opposuitque manum fronti, magnoque tremore
Omnia concutiens paulum subsedit. Ibid.

The earth at length———
Uplifted to the heav'ns her blasted head,
And clapt her hand upon her brows, and said,
(But first, impatient of the sultry heat,
Sunk deeper down, and sought a cooler seat.)

The *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand is a type of her fruitfulness, as in the speech she makes to *Jupiter*.

Hosne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem,
Officiique refers? quod adunci vulnera aratri
Rastrorumque fero, totoque exerceor anno?
Quod pecori frondes, alimentaque mitia fruges
Humano generi, vobis quoque thura ministro? Ibid.

And does the plow for this my body tear?
This the reward for all the fruits I bear,
Tortur'd with rakes, and harrass'd all the year?
That herbs for cattle daily I renew,
And food for man, and frankincense for you?

So much for the designing part of the Medal; as for the thought of it, the Antiquaries are divided upon it. For my part I cannot doubt but it was made as a compliment to *Commodus* on his skill in the chariot-race. It is supposed that the same occasion furnished *Lucan* with the same thought in his address to *Nero*.

Seu te flammigeros Phœbi conscendere currus,
Telluremque, nihil mutato sole, timentem
Igne vago lustrare juvet——— Luc. Lib. 1. ad Neronem.

Or if thou chuse the empire of the day,
And make the Sun's unwilling steeds obey;
Auspicious if thou drive the flaming team,
While earth rejoyces in thy gentler beam—— Mr. *Rowe*.

This is so natural an allusion, that we find the course of the Sun described in the Poets by metaphors borrowed from the *Circus*.

Quum suspensus eat Phœbus, currumque reflectat
Huc illuc agiles, et servet in æthere metas. Manil. Lib. 1.

———Hesperio positas in littore metas. Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

Et Sol ex æquo metâ distabat utrâque. Idem.

However it be, we are sure in general it is a comparing of *Commodus* to the Sun, which is a simile of as long standing as poetry, I had almost said, as the Sun it self.

I believe, says *Cynthio*, there is scarce a great man he ever shone upon that has not been compared to him. I look on similes as a part of his productions. I do not know whether he raises fruits or flowers in greater number. *Horace* has turn'd this comparison into ridicule seventeen hundred years ago.

———laudat Brutum, laudatque cohortem,
Solem Asiæ Brutum appellat——— Hor. Sat. 7. Lib. 1.

He praiseth *Brutus* much and all his train;
He calls him *Asia*'s Sun——— Mr. *Creech*.

You have now shown us persons under the disguise of Stars, Moons and Suns. I suppose we have at last done with the cœlestial bodies.

Fig. 13. The next figure you see, says *Philander*, had once a place in the heavens, if you will believe ecclesiastical story. It is the sign that is said to have appeared to *Constantine* before the battle with *Maxentius*. We are told by a Christian Poet, that he caus'd it to be wrought on the military Ensign that the *Romans* call their *Labarum*. And it is on this Ensign that we find it in the present Medal.

Christus purpureum gemmanti, textus in auro
Signabat Labarum.——— Prudent. contra Symm. Lib. 1.

A Christ was on th' Imperial standard born,
That Gold embroiders, and that Gemms adorn.

By the word *Christus* he means without doubt the present

figure, which is composed out of the two Initial letters of the name.

He bore the same sign in his standards, as you may see in the following Medal and verses. Fig. 14.

Agnoscas, Regina, libens mea signa necesse est:
In quibus Effigies Crucis aut gemmata refulget,
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis.
Constantinus Romam alloquitur. Ibid.

My Ensign let the Queen of nations praise,
That rich in gemms the Christian Cross displays:
There rich in gemms; but on my quiv'ring spears
In solid gold the sacred mark appears.

Vexillumque Crucis summus dominator adorat. Id. in Apotheosi.

See there the Cross he wav'd on hostile shores,
The Emperor of all the world adores.

But to return to our *Labarum*; if you have a mind to see it in a state of Paganism you have it on a Coin of *Tiberius*. It stands between two other Ensigns, and is the mark of a *Roman* Colony where the Medal was stamped. By the way you must observe, that where-ever the *Romans* fixed their standards they looked on that place as their country, and thought themselves obliged to defend it with their lives. For this reason their standards were always carryed before them when they went to settle themselves in a Colony. This gives the meaning of a couple of verses in *Silius Italicus*, that makes a very far-fetcht compliment to *Fabius*. Fig. 15.

Ocyus huc Aquilas servataque signa referte,
Hic patria est, murique urbis stant pectore in uno. Sil. It. Li. 7.

The following Medal was stamped on *Trajan*'s victory over the *Daci*, you see on it the figure of *Trajan* presenting a little *Victory* to *Rome*. Between them lies the conquered province of *Dacia*. It may be worth while to observe the particularities in each figure. We see abundance of persons on old Coins that hold a little *Victory* in one hand, like this of *Trajan*, which is always the sign of a Fig. 16.

Conquest. I have sometimes fancied *Virgil* alludes to this custom in a verse that *Turnus* speaks.

Non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit. Virg. Æn. Li. 11.

If you consent, he shall not be refus'd,
Nor find a hand to Victory unus'd. Mr. *Dryden.*

The Emperor's standing in a Gown, and making a present of his *Dacian* Victory to the city of *Rome*, agrees very well with *Claudian*'s character of him.

———————*victura feretur*
Gloria Trajani; non tam quod, Tigride victo,
Nostra triumphati fuerint provincia Parthi,
Alta quod invectus stratis capitolia Dacis:
Quam patriæ quod mitis erat. . . . Claud. de 4to. Cons. Honor.

Thy glory, *Trajan*, shall for-ever live:
Not that thy arms the *Tigris* mourn'd, o'ercome,
And tributary *Parthia* bow'd to *Rome*,
Not that the Capitol receiv'd thy train
With shouts of triumph for the *Daci* slain:
But for thy mildness to thy country shown.

The city of *Rome* carries the Wand in her hand that is the symbol of her Divinity.

Delubrum Romæ (colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More Deæ)——————— Prudent. cont. Sym. L. 1.

For *Rome*, a Goddess too can boast her shrine,
With victims stain'd, and sought with rites divine.

As the Globe under her feet betokens her dominion over all the nations of the earth.

Terrarum Dea, Gentiumque Roma;
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum. Mart. Li. 12. Epig. 8.

O *Rome*, thou Goddess of the earth!
To whom no rival e'er had birth;
Nor second e'er shall rise.

The heap of arms she sits on signifies the Peace that the Emperor had procured her. On old Coins we often see

an Emperor, a *Victory*, the city of *Rome*, or a slave, sitting on a heap of arms, which always marks out the Peace that arose from such an action as gave occasion to the Medal. I think we cannot doubt but *Virgil* copied out this circumstance from the ancient Sculptors, in that inimitable description he has given us of *Military Fury* shut up in the Temple of *Janus* and loaden with chains.

Claudentur belli portæ: Furor impius intus
Sæva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus ahenis
Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento. Virg. Æn. Li. 1.

Janus himself before his fane shall wait,
And keep the dreadful issues of his gate,
With bolts and iron bars: within remains
Imprison'd *Fury*, bound in brazen chains:
High on a Trophy rais'd of useless arms
He sits, and threats the world with dire alarms. Mr. *Dryden.*

We are told by the old Scholiast, says *Eugenius*, that there was actually such a statue in the Temple of *Janus* as that *Virgil* has here described, which I am almost apt to believe, since you assure us that this part of the design is so often met with on ancient Medals. But have you nothing to remark on the figure of the Province? Her posture, says *Philander*, is what we often meet with in the slaves and captives of old Coins: among the Poets too, sitting on the ground is a mark of Misery or Captivity.

Multos illa dies incomtis mæsta capillis
Sederat———————— Propert. Li. 1.

O utinam ante tuos sedeam captiva penates. Id. L. 4.

O might I sit a captive at thy gate!

You have the same posture in an old Coin that celebrates a victory of *Lucius Verus* over the *Parthians*. The captive's hands are here bound behind him, as a farther instance of his slavery. Fig. 17.

Ecce manus juvenem interea post terga revinctum,
Pastores magno ad Regem clamore ferebant. Virg. Æn. L. 2.

Mean while, with shouts, the *Trojan* shepherds bring
A captive *Greek* in bands before the King. Mr. *Dryden.*

Cui dedit invitas victa noverca manus. Ov. de Fast.

Cùm rudis urgenti brachia victa dedi. Propert. Li. 4.

We may learn from *Ovid* that it was sometimes the custom to place a slave with his arms bound at the foot of the Trophy, as in the figure before us.

Stentque super vinctos trunca trophæa viros. Ov. Ep. ex Ponto L. 4.

You see on his head the cap which the *Parthians*, and indeed most of the eastern nations, wear on Medals. They had not probably the ceremony of veiling the Bonnet in their salutations, for in Medals they still have it on their heads, whether they are before Emperors or Generals, kneeling, sitting, or standing. *Martial* has distinguished them by this cap as their chief characteristic.

Frustra blanditiæ venitis ad me
Attritis miserabiles labellis,
Dicturus dominum, deumque non sum:
Jam non est locus hâc in urbe vobis.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humilesque supplicesque
Pictorum sola basiate regum. Mart. Epig. 72. Li. 10.

In vain, mean flatteries, ye trie,
To gnaw the lip, and fall the eye;
No man a God or Lord I name:
From *Romans* far be such a shame!
Go teach the supple *Parthian* how
To veil the Bonnet on his brow:
Or on the ground all prostrate fling
Some *Pict*, before his barbarous King.

I cannot hear, says *Cynthio*, without a kind of indignation, the satyrical reflections that *Martial* has made on the memory of *Domitian*. It is certain so ill an Emperor deserved all the reproaches that could be heaped upon him, but he could not deserve them of *Martial*. I must confess I am less scandalised at the flatteries the Epi-

grammatist paid him living, than the ingratitude he showed him dead. A man may be betrayed into the one by an over-strained complaisance, or by a temper extremely sensible of favours and obligations: whereas the other can arise from nothing but a natural baseness and villany of soul. It does not always happen, says *Philander*, that the Poet and the honest man meet together in the same person. I think we need enlarge no farther on this Medal, unless you have a mind to compare the Trophy on it with that of *Mezentius* in *Virgil.*

Ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezentî ducis exuvias; tibi, magne, tropæum,
Bellipotens: aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri, et bis sex thoraca petitum
Perfossumque locis; clypeumque ex ære sinistræ
Subligat, atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum. Virg. Æn. Li. 11.

He bar'd an ancient Oak of all her boughs:
Then on a rising ground the trunk he plac'd;
Which with the spoils of his dead foe he grac'd.
The coat of arms by proud *Mezentius* worn,
Now on a naked Snag in triumph born,
Was hung on high; and glitter'd from afar:
A trophy sacred to the God of war.
Above his arms, fix'd on the leafless wood,
Appear'd his plumy crest, besmear'd with blood;
His brazen buckler on the left was seen;
Trunchions of shiver'd lances hung between:
And on the right was plac'd his Corslet, bor'd,
And to the neck was ty'd his unavailing sword. Mr. *Dryden.*

On the next Medal you see the Peace that *Vespasian* procured the Empire after having happily finished all its wars both at home and abroad. The woman with the olive branch in her hand is the figure of *Peace.* Fig. 18.

——————pignora Pacis
Prætendens dextrâ ramum canentis olivæ. Sil. It. Li. [13].

With the other hand she thrusts a lighted torch under a heap of armour that lies by an Altar. This alludes to a

custom among the ancient *Romans* of gathering up the armour that lay scattered on the field of battle, and burning it as an offering to one of their Deities. It is to this custom that *Virgil* refers, and *Silius Italicus* has described at large.

Qualis eram cùm primam aciem Præneste sub ipsâ
Stravi, scutorumque incendi victor acervos. Virg. Æn. Li. 8.

Such as I was beneath *Præneste's* walls;
Then when I made the foremost foes retire,
And set whole heaps of conquer'd shields on fire. Mr. *Dryden.*

Ast tibi, Bellipotens, Sacrum, constructus acervo
Ingenti mons armorum consurgit ad astra:
Ipse manu celsam pinum, flammâque comantem
Attollens, ductor Gradivum in vota ciebat:
Primitias pugnæ, et læti libamina belli,
Hannibal Ausonio cremat hæc de nomine victor.
Et tibi, Mars genitor, votorum haud surde meorum,
Arma electa dicat spirantum turba virorum.
Tum face conjectâ, populatur fervidus ignis
Flagrantem molem; et ruptâ caligine, in auras
Actus apex claro perfundit lumine campos. Sil. It. Li. 10.

To thee the Warrior-God, aloft in air
A mountain-pile of *Roman* arms they rear:
The Gen'ral grasping in his Victor hand
A pine of stately growth, he wav'd the brand,
And cry'd, O *Mars!* to thee devote I yield
These choice first-fruits of Honour's purple field.
Join'd with the partners of my toil and praise,
Thy *Hannibal* this vow'd oblation pays;
Grateful to thee for *Latian* laurels won:
Accept this homage, and absolve thy son.———
Then, to the pile the flaming torch he tost;
In smould'ring smoke the light of Heav'n is lost:
But when the fire increase of fury gains,
The blaze of Glory gilds the distant plains.

Fig. {19. 20.

As for the heap of Arms, and mountain of Arms, that the Poet mentions, you may see them on two Coins of *Marcus Aurelius*. DE SARMATIS and DE GERMANIS allude perhaps to the form of words that might be used at the

setting fire to them.—*Ausonio de nomine.* Those who will not allow of the interpretation I have put on these two last Medals may think it an objection that there is no torch or fire near them to signifie any such allusion. But they may consider that on several Imperial Coins we meet with the figure of a funeral pile, without any thing to denote the burning of it, though indeed there is on some of them a Flambeau sticking out on each side, to let us know it was to be consumed to ashes.

You have been so intent on the burning of the Arms, says *Cynthio*, that you have forgotten the Pillar on your 18th Medal. You may find the history of it, says *Philander*, in *Ovid de Fastis*. It was from this Pillar that the spear was tossed at the opening of a war, for which reason the little figure on the top of it holds a spear in its hand, and *Peace* turns her back upon it.

Prospicit à templo summum brevis area Circum:
Est ibi non parvæ parva columna notæ:
Hinc solet hasta manu, belli prænuncia, mitti;
In regem et gentes cum placet arma capi. Ov. de fast. Li. 6.

Where the high Fane the ample Cirque commands
A little, but a noted pillar stands,
From hence, when *Rome* the distant Kings defies,
In form the war-denouncing Javelin flies.

The different interpretations that have been made on the next Medal seem to be forced and unnatural. I will therefore give you my own opinion of it. The vessel is here represented as stranded. The figure before it seems to come in to its assistance, and to lift it off the shallows: for we see the water scarce reaches up to the knees, and though it is the figure of a man standing on firm ground. His attendants, and the good office he is employed upon, resemble those the Poets often attribute to *Neptune*. *Homer* tells us, that the Whales leaped up at their God's approach, as we see in the Medal. The two small figures that stand naked among the waves are Sea-Deities of an inferiour rank, who are supposed to assist their Sovereign in the succour he gives the distressed vessel. Fig. 21.

Cymothoë, simul et Triton adnixus acuto
Detrudunt naves scopulo; levat ipse tridenti,
Et vastas aperit syrtes, et temperat æquor. Virg. Æn. Li. 1.

Cymothoë, Triton, and the sea-green train
Of beauteous Nymphs, the daughters of the main,
Clear from the rocks the vessels with their hands;
The God himself with ready trident stands,
And opes the deep, and spreads the moving sands. Mr. *Dryden.*

Jam placidis ratis extat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
Et Thetis, et magnis Nereus socer erigit ulnis. Val. Flac. Li. 1.

The interpreters of this Medal have mistaken these two figures for the representation of two persons that are drowning. But as they are both naked and drawn in a posture rather of triumphing o'er the waves than of sinking under them, so we see abundance of Water-Deities on other Medals represented after the same manner.

Ite Deæ virides, liquidosque advertite vultus,
Et vitreum teneris crinem redimite corymbis,
Veste nihil tectæ: quales emergitis altis
Fontibus, et visu Satyros torquetis amantes.
Statius de Balneo Etrusci. Lib. 1.

Haste, haste, ye *Naiads!* with attractive art
New charms to ev'ry native grace impart:
With op'ning flourets bind your sea-green hair,
Unveil'd; and naked let your limbs appear:
So from the springs the *Satyrs* see you rise,
And drink eternal passion at their eyes.

After having thus far cleared our way to the Medal, I take the thought of the reverse to be this. The stranded vessel is the Commonwealth of *Rome,* that by the tyranny of *Domitian,* and the insolence of the *Prætorian* Guards under *Nerva,* was quite run aground and in danger of perishing. Some of those embarked in it endeavour at her recovery, but it is *Trajan* that by the adoption of *Nerva* stems the tide to her relief, and like another *Neptune* shoves her off the quick-sands. Your Device, says *Eugenius,* hangs very well together; but is not it liable to the same exceptions

that you made us last night to such explications as have nothing but the writers imagination to support them? To shew you, says *Philander*, that the construction I put on this Medal is conformable to the fancies of the old *Romans*, you may observe, that *Horace* represents at length the Commonwealth of *Rome* under the figure of a ship, in the Allegory that you meet with in the fourteenth Ode of his first book.

O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus.———————

And shall the raging waves again
Bear thee back into the main? Mr. *Creech.*

Nor was any thing more usual than to represent a God in the shape and dress of an Emperor.

———*Apelleæ cuperent te scribere ceræ,*
Optassetque novo similem te ponere templo
Atticus Elei senior Jovis; et tua mitis
Ora Taras: tua sidereas imitantia flammas
Lumina, contempto mallet Rhodos aspera Phœbo.
Statius de Equo Domitiani Syl. 1.

Now had *Apelles* liv'd, he'd sue to grace
His glowing Tablets with thy godlike face:
Phidias, a Sculptor for the Pow'rs above!
Had wish'd to place thee with his Iv'ry *Jove*.
Rhodes, and *Tarentum*, that with Pride survey,
The Thund'rer This, and That the God of day;
Each fam'd *Colossus* wou'd exchange for Thee,
And own thy form the loveliest of the three.

For the thought in general, you have just the same metaphorical compliment to *Theodosius* in *Claudian*, as the Medal here makes to *Trajan*.

Nulla relicta foret Romani nominis umbra,
Ni pater ille tuus jamjam ruitura subisset
Pondera, turbatamque ratem, certâque levasset
Naufragium commune manu.———
Claudian. de 4*to* Cons. Honorii.

Had not thy Sire deferr'd th' impending fate,
And with his solid virtue prop'd the state;
Sunk in Oblivion's shade, the name of *Rome*,
An empty name! had scarce surviv'd her doom:
Half-wreck'd she was, 'till his auspicious hand
Resum'd the rudder, and regain'd the land.

I shall only add, that this Medal was stamped in honour of *Trajan*, when he was only *Cæsar*, as appears by the face of it . . . . SARI TRAIANO.

Fig. 22. The next is a reverse of *Marcus Aurelius*. We have on it a *Minerva* mounted on a monster, that *Ausonius* describes in the following verses.

Illa etiam Thalamos per trina ænigmata quærens
Qui bipes, et quadrupes foret, et tripes omnia solus;
Terruit Aoniam Volucris, Leo, Virgo; triformis
Sphinx, volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.

To form the monster *Sphinx*, a triple kind,
Man, bird, and beast, by nature were combin'd:
With feather'd fans she wing'd th' aerial space:
And on her feet the Lion-claws disgrace
The bloomy features of a Virgin-face.
O'er pale *Aönia* pannic horror ran,
While in mysterious speech she thus began:
"What animal, when yet the Morn is new,
"Walks on Four legs infirm; at Noon on Two:
"But day declining to the western skies,
"He needs a Third; a Third the Night supplies?

The monster, says *Cynthio*, is a Sphinx, but for her meaning on this Medal, I am not *OEdipus* enough to unriddle it. I must confess, says *Philander*, the Poets fail me in this particular. There is however a passage in *Pausanias* that I will repeat to you, though it is in prose, since I know no body else that has explained the Medal by it. The *Athenians*, says he, drew a Sphinx on the armour of *Pallas*, by reason of the strength and sagacity of this animal. The Sphinx therefore signifies the same as *Minerva* herself, who was

the Goddess of arms as well as wisdom, and describes the Emperor as one of the Poets expresses it,——

——*Studiis florentem utriusque Minervæ.*

Whom both *Minerva's* boast t' adopt their own.

The *Romans* joined both devices together, to make the emblem the more significant, as indeed they could not too much extol the learning and military virtues of this excellent Emperor, who was the best Philosopher and the greatest General of his Age.

We will close up this Series of Medals with one that was stamped under *Tiberius* to the memory of *Augustus*. Over his head you see the star that his father *Julius Cæsar* was supposed to have been changed into. Fig. 23.

Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum. Virg. Ecl. 9.

See, *Cæsar*'s lamp is lighted in the skies. Mr. *Dryden.*

——————*micat inter omnes*
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores. Hor.

———*Julius Cæsar*'s light appears
As, in fair nights and smiling skies,
The beauteous *Moon* amidst the meaner stars. Mr. *Creech.*

Vix ea fatus erat, mediâ cùm sede senatûs
Constitit alma Venus, nulli cernenda, suique
Cæsaris eripuit membris, nec in aëra solvi
Passa recentem animam, cœlestibus intulit astris.
Dumque tulit lumen capere atque ignescere sensit,
Emisitque sinu: Lunâ evolat altius illa,
Flammiferumque trahens spatioso limite crinem,
Stella micat.———— Ov. Met. Li. 15.

This spoke; the Goddess to the Senate flew;
Where, her fair form conceal'd from mortal view,
Her *Cæsar*'s heav'nly part she made her care,
Nor left the recent Soul to waste to air;
But bore it upwards to its native skies:
Glowing with new-born fires she saw it rise;

Forth springing from her bosom up it flew,
And kindling, as it soar'd, a Comet grew;
Above the lunar Sphere it took its flight,
And shot behind it a long trail of light. Mr. *Welsted.*

Virgil draws the same figure of *Augustus* on *Æneas*'s shield as we see on this Medal. The Commentators tell us, that the star was engraven on *Augustus*'s helmet, but we may be sure *Virgil* means such a figure of the Emperor as he used to be represented by in the *Roman* sculpture, and such a one as we may suppose this to be that we have before us.

Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prælia Cæsar,
Cum patribus, populoque, Penatibus, et magnis Diis,
Stans celsâ in puppi; geminas cui tempora flammas
Læta vomunt, patriumque aperitur vertice sidus. Virg. Æn. Li. 8.

Young *Cæsar* on the stern in armour bright,
Here leads the *Romans*, and the Gods, to fight;
His beamy temples shoot their flames afar;
And o'er his head is hung the Julian star. Mr. *Dryden.*

The thunderbolt that lies by him is a mark of his Apotheosis, that makes him as it were a companion of *Jupiter*. Thus the Poets of his own age that deified him living.

Divisum Imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet. Virg.

Hic socium summo cum Jove numen habet. Ov.

———regit Augustus socio per signa Tonante. Manil. Li. 1.

Sed tibi debetur cælum, te fulmine pollens,
Accipiet cupidi Regia magna Jovis. Ov. de Augusto ad Liviam.

He wears on his head the *Corona Radiata*, which at that time was another type of his Divinity. The spikes that shoot out from the crown were to represent the rays of the Sun. There were twelve of them, in allusion to the Signs of the *Zodiac*. It is this kind of crown that *Virgil* describes.

————ingenti mole Latinus
Quadrijugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum

Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cinguntˌ
Solis avi specimen——— Virg. Æn. Lib. 12.

Four steeds the chariots of *Latinus* bear:
Twelve golden beams around his temples play,
To mark his lineage from the God of day. Mr. *Dryden.*

If you would know why the *corona radiata* is a representation of the Sun, you may see it in the figure of *Apollo* on the next reverse, where his head is encompassed with such an arch of glory as *Ovid* and *Statius* mention, that might be put on and taken off at pleasure. Fig. 24.

———*at genitor circum caput omne micantes*
Deposuit radios——— Ovid. Met. Lib. 2.

The tender Sire was touch'd with what he said,
And flung the blaze of glories from his head.

Imposuitque comæ radios——— Ibid.

Then fix'd his beamy circle on his head.

———*licet ignipedum frænator equorum*
Ipse tuis alte radiantem crinibus arcum
Imprimat——— Statius. Theb. Lib. 1. ad Domitianum.

Tho' *Phœbus* longs to mix his rays with thine,
And in thy glories more serenely shine. Mr. *Pope.*

In his right hand he holds the whip with which he is supposed to drive the horses of the Sun: as in a pretty passage of *Ovid*, that some of his editors must needs fancy spurious.

Colligit amentes, et adhuc terrore paventes,
Phœbus equos, stimuloque dolens et verbere sævit:
Sævit enim, natumque objectat, et imputat illis. Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

Prevail'd upon at length, again he took
The harness'd steeds, that still with horrour shook,
And plies 'em with the lash, and whips 'em on,
And, as he whips, upbraids 'em with his son.

The double-pointed dart in his left hand is an emblem of his beams, that pierce through such an infinite depth of air,

and enter into the very bowels of the earth. Accordingly *Lucretius* calls them the darts of the day, as *Ausonius* to make a sort of witticism has followed his example.

Non radii solis, neque lucida tela Diei. Lucr.

Exultant udæ super arida saxa rapinæ,
Luciferique pavent letalia tela Diei.
de piscibus captis. Aus. Eid. 10.

Caligo terræ scinditur,
Percussa solis spiculo. Prud. Hym. 2.

I have now given you a sample of such emblematical Medals as are unriddled by the *Latin* Poets, and have shown several passages in the *Latin* Poets that receive an illustration from Medals. Some of the Coins we have had before us have not been explained by others, as many of them have been explained in a different manner. There are indeed others that have had very near the same explication put upon them, but as this explication has been supported by no authority, it can at best be looked upon but as a probable conjecture. It is certain, says *Eugenius*, there cannot be any more authentic illustrations of *Roman* Medals, especially of those that are full of fancy, than such as are drawn out of the *Latin* Poets. For as there is a great affinity between Designing and Poetry, so the *Latin* Poets, and the Designers of the *Roman* Medals, lived very near one another, were acquainted with the same customs, conversant with the same objects, and bred up to the same relish for wit and fancy. But who are the Ladies that we are next to examine? These are, says *Philander*, so many Cities, Nations and Provinces that present themselves to you under the shape of women. What you take for a fine Lady at first sight, when you come to look into her will prove a town, a country, or one of the four parts of the world. In short, you have now *Afric*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, and several other nations of the earth before you. This is one of the pleasantest Maps, says *Cynthio*, that I ever saw. Your Geographers now and then fancy a country like a Leg or a Head, a Bear or a Dragon, but I never before saw them represented like women. I could

not have thought your mountains, seas and promontories could have made up an assembly of such well-shaped persons. This therefore, says *Philander*, is a Geography particular to the Medallists. The Poets however have sometimes given into it, and furnish us with very good lights for the explication of it. The first Lady you see on the List is *Africa*. She carries an Elephant's tooth by her side. *Third Series.* Fig. 1.

Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes,
Et Mauri celeres, et Mauro obscurior Indus:
Et quos deposuit Nabathæo bellua saltu,
Jam nimios, capitique graves——— Juv. Sat. 11.

She is always quoiff'd with the head of an Elephant, to show that this animal is the breed of that country, as for the same reason she has a Dragon lying at her feet.

Huic varias pestes, diversaque membra ferarum,
Concessit bellis natura infesta futuris;
Horrendos angues, habitataque membra veneno,
Et mortis partus, viventia crimina terræ;
Et vastos Elephantes habet, sævosque Leones,
In pœnas fœcunda suas, parit horrida tellus.
Manil. Lib. 4. de Africâ.

Here Nature, angry with mankind, prepares
Strange monsters, instruments of future wars;
Here Snakes, those Cells of poyson, take their birth,
Those living crimes and grievance of the earth;
Fruitful in its own plagues, the desart shore
Hears Elephants, and frightful Lions roar. Mr. *Creech.*

Lucan in his description of the several noxious animals of this country, mentions in particular the flying Dragon that we see on this Medal.

Vos quoque, qui cunctis innoxia numina terris
Serpitis, aurato nitidi fulgore dracones,
Pestiferos ardens facit Africa: ducitis altum
Aëra cum pennis, armentaque tota secuti
Rumpitis ingentes amplexi verbere tauros.
Nec tutus spatio est Elephas, datis omnia letho:
Nec vobis opus est ad noxia fata veneno. Luc. Lib. 9.

And you, ye Dragons! of the scaly race,
Whom glittering gold and shining armours grace,
In other nations harmless are you found,
Their guardian Genii and Protectors own'd;
In *Afric* only are you fatal; there,
On wide-expanded wings, sublime you rear
Your dreadful forms, and drive the yielding air.
The lowing Kine in droves you chace, and cull
Some master of the herd, some mighty Bull:
Around his stubborn sides your tails you twist,
By force compress, and burst his brawny chest.
Not Elephants are by their larger size
Secure, but with the rest become your prize.
Resistless in your Might, you all invade,
And for destruction need not poison's aid. Mr. *Rowe.*

The Bull that appears on the other side of the Dragon, shows us that *Afric* abounds in agriculture.

——————*tibi habe frumentum, Alledius inquit,*
O Libye, disjunge boves, dum tubera mittas. Juv. Sat. 5.

——————No more plough up the ground
O *Libya*, where such mushrooms can be found,
Alledius cries, but furnish us with store
Of mushrooms, and import thy corn no more. Mr. *Bowles.*

This part of the world has always on Medals something to denote her wonderful fruitfulness, as it was indeed the great granary of *Italy*. In the two following figures, the handful of wheat, the *Cornu-copiæ*, and basket of corn, are all emblems of the same signification.

Sed quâ se campis squalentibus Africa tendit,
Serpentum largo coquitur fœcunda veneno:
Felix quà pingues mitis plaga temperat agros;
Nec Cerere Ennæâ, Pharioque victa colono. Sil. It. Lib. 1.

Frumenti quantum metit Africa——— Hor. Sat. 3. Lib. 2.

———*segetes mirantur Iberas*
Horrea; nec Libyæ senserunt damna rebellis
Jam transalpinâ contenti messe Quirites.
Claud. in Eutrop. Lib. 1.

The Lion on the second Medal marks her out for the Fig. 2.

———Leonum
Arida nutrix. Hor.

The Scorpion on the third is another of her productions, as *Lucan* mentions it in particular, in the long catalogue of her venomous animals. Fig. 3.

————quis fata putaret
Scorpion, aut vires maturæ mortis habere?
Ille minax nodis, et recto verbere sævus,
Teste tulit cælo victi decus Orionis. Luc. Lib. 9.

Who, that the Scorpion's insect form surveys,
Would think that ready Death his call obeys?
Threat'ning he rears his knotty tail on high,
The vast *Orion* thus he doom'd to die,
And fix'd him, his proud trophy, in the sky. Mr. *Rowe.*

The three figures you have here shown us, says *Eugenius*, give me an idea of a description or two in *Claudian*, that I must confess I did not before know what to make of. They represent *Africa* in the shape of a woman, and certainly allude to the corn and head-dress that she wears on old Coins.

————mediis apparet in astris
Africa, rescissæ vestes, et spicea passim
Serta jacent, lacero crinales vertice dentes,
Et fractum pendebat ebur—— Claud. de Bel. Gild.

Next *Afric*, mounting to the blest Abodes,
Pensive approach'd the Synod of the Gods:
No arts of dress the weeping Dame adorn;
Her garments rent, and wheaten garlands torn:
The fillets, grac'd with teeth in Ivory rows,
Broke and disorder'd dangle on her brows.

Tum spicis et dente comas illustris eburno,
Et calido rubicunda die, sic Africa fatur.
Claud. de Cons. Stil. Lib. 2.

I think, says *Philander*, there is no question but the Poet

has copied out in his description the figure that *Africa* made in ancient sculpture and painting. The next before
Fig. 4. us is *Egypt.* Her basket of wheat shows us the great fruitfulness of the country, which is caused by the inundations of the *Nile.*

Syrtibus hinc Libycis tuta est Ægyptus: at inde
Gurgite septeno rapidus mare summovet amnis:
Terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,
Aut Jovis; in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo. Luc. Lib. 8.

By Nature strengthned with a dang'rous strand,
Her Syrts and untry'd channels guard the land.
Rich in the fatness of her plenteous soil,
She plants her only confidence in *Nile.* Mr. *Rowe.*

The instrument in her hand is the *Sistrum* of the *Egyptians,* made use of in the worship of the Goddess *Isis.*

———Nilotica sistris
Ripa sonat——— Claud. de 4*to* Cons. Honor.

On Medals you see it in the hand of *Egypt,* of *Isis,* or any of her Worshippers. The Poets too make the same use of it, as *Virgil* has placed it in *Cleopatra*'s hand, to distinguish her from an *Egyptian.*

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro. Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

The Queen her self, amidst the loud alarms,
With Cymbals toss'd, her fainting soldiers warms. Mr. *Dryden.*

———restabant Actia bella,
Atque ipsa Isiaco certârunt fulmina sistro. Manil. Lib. 1.

———imitataque Lunam
Cornua fulserunt, crepuitque sonabile sistrum,
de Iside. Ov. Met. Lib. 9.

———The lunar horns, that bind
The brows of *Isis,* cast a blaze around;
The trembling Timbrel made a murm'ring sound. Mr. *Dryden.*

Quid tua nunc Isis tibi, Delia? quid mihi prosunt
Illa tuâ toties æra repulsa manu? Tib. Lib. 1. El. 3.

Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin,
Semideosque canes, et sistra jubentia luctus. Luc. Lib. 8.

Have we with honours dead *Osiris* crown'd,
And mourn'd him to the Timbrel's tinkling sound?
Receiv'd her *Isis* to divine abodes,
And rank'd her dogs deform'd, with *Roman* Gods? Mr. *Rowe.*

The bird before her is the *Egyptian Ibis.* This figure however does not represent the living bird, but rather an idol of it, as one may guess by the pedestal it stands upon, for the *Egyptians* worshipped it as a God.

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin;
Effigies sacri nitet aurea C[e]rcopitheci. Juv. Sat. 15.

How *Egypt*, mad with superstition grown,
Makes Gods of monsters, but too well is known:
One sect devotion to *Nile*'s serpent pays;
Others to *Ibis*, that on serpents preys.
Where, *Thebes*, thy hundred gates lie unrepair'd,
And where maim'd *Memnon*'s magick harp is heard,
Where these are mould'ring left, the sots combine
With pious care a Monkey to enshrine. Mr. *Tate.*

Venerem precaris? comprecare et Simiam.
Placet sacratus aspis Æsculapii?
Crocodilus, Ibis et Canes cur displicent? Prudentius. Pas. S. Romani.

We have *Mauritania* on the fifth Medal, leading a horse with something like a thread, for where there is a bridle in old Coins you see it much more distinctly. In her other hand she holds a switch. We have the design of this Medal in the following descriptions that celebrate the *Moors* and *Numidians*, Inhabitants of *Mauritania*, for their horsemanship. Fig. 5.

Hic passim exultant Numidæ, gens inscia fræni:
Queis inter geminas per ludum mobilis aures
Quadrupedum flectit non cedens virga lupatis:
Altrix bellorum bellatorumque virorum,
Tellus———————— Sil. It. Li. 1.

On his hot Steed, unus'd to curb or rein,
The black *Numidian* prances o'er the plain:
A wand betwixt his ears directs the course,
And as a bridle turns th' obedient horse.

———an Mauri fremitum raucosque repulsus
Umbonum et nostros passuri, comminus enses?
Non contra clypeis tectos, galeisque micantes
Ibitis; in solis longè fiducia telis.
Exarmatus erit, cum missile torserit, hostis.
Dextra movet jaculum, prætentat pallia lævâ,
Cætera nudus Eques; sonipes ignarus habenæ:
Virga regit, non ulla fides, non agminis ordo;
Arma oneri.——— Claud. de Bel. Gildon.

Can *Moors* sustain the press, in close-fought fields,
Of shorten'd Fauchions, and repelling shields?
Against a host of quiv'ring spears ye go,
Nor helm nor buckler guards the naked foe;
The naked foe, who vainly trusts his art,
And flings away his armour in his dart:
His dart the right hand shakes, the left uprears
His robe, beneath his tender skin appears.
Their Steeds un-rein'd, obey the horseman's wand,
Nor know their legions when to march, or stand:
In the war's dreadful laws untaught and rude,
A mob of men, a martial multitude.

The Horse too may stand as an emblem of the warlike genius of the people.

Bello armantur Equi, bella hæc armenta minantur. Virg. Æn. Li. 3

Fig. 6. From *Africa* we will cross over into *Spain*. There are learned Medallists that tell us, the Rabbet which you see before her feet, may signifie either the great multitude of these Animals that are found in *Spain*, or perhaps the several mines that are wrought within the bowels of that country, the *Latin* word *Cuniculus* signifying either a Rabbet or a Mine. But these Gentlemen do not consider, that it is not the Word but the Figure that appears on the Medal. *Cuniculus* may stand for a Rabbet or a Mine, but the picture of a Rabbet is not the picture of a Mine. A

pun can be no more engraven than it can be translated. When the word is construed into its idea the double meaning vanishes. The figure therefore before us means a real Rabbet, which is there found in vast multitudes.

Cuniculosæ Celtiberiæ fili. Catul. in Egnatium.

The Olive-branch tells us, it is a country that abounds in Olives, as it is for this reason that *Claudian* in his description of *Spain* binds an Olive-branch about her head.

———glaucis tum prima Minervæ
Nexa comam foliis, fulváque intexta micantem
Veste Tagum, tales profert Hispania voces.
Claud. de Laud. Stil. Li. 2.

Thus *Spain*, whose brows the olive wreaths infold,
And o'er her robe a *Tagus* streams in gold.

Martial has given us the like figure of one of the greatest rivers in *Spain*.

Bætis oliviferâ crinem redimite coronâ,
Aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis:
Quem Bromius quem Pallas amat——— Mar. Li. 12. Ep. 99.

Fair *Bætis!* Olives wreath thy azure locks;
In fleecy gold thou cloath'st the neighb'ring flocks:
Thy fruitful banks with rival-bounty smile,
While *Bacchus* wine bestows, and *Pallas* oil.

And *Prudentius* of one of its eminent towns.

Tu decem sanctos revehes et octo,
Cæsar[a]ugusta studiosa Christi,
Verticem flavis oleis revincta
Pacis honore. Prudent. Hymn. 4.

France, you see, has a Sheep by her, not only as a sacrifice, but to shew that the riches of the country consisted chiefly in flocks and pasturage. Thus *Horace* mentioning the commodities of different countries, Fig. 7.

Quanquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
Nec Læstrigoniâ Bacchus in amphorâ

Languescit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis
Crescunt vellera pascuis. Hor. Od. 16. Li. 3.

Tho' no *Calabrian* Bees do give
Their grateful tribute to my hive;
No wines, by rich *Campania* sent,
In my ignoble casks ferment;
No flocks in *Gallic* plains grow fat;——— Mr. *Creech.*

She carries on her shoulders the *Sagulum* that *Virgil* speaks of as the habit of the ancient *Gauls.*

Aurea cæsaries ollis, atque aurea vestis:
Virgatis lucent sagulis—— Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

The gold dissembled well their yellow hair;
And golden chains on their white necks they wear;
Gold are their vests——— Mr. *Dryden.*

She is drawn in a posture of sacrificing for the safe arrival of the Emperor, as we may learn from the inscription. We find in the several Medals that were struck on *Adrian*'s progress through the Empire, that at his arrival they offered a sacrifice to the Gods for the reception of so great a blessing. *Horace* mentions this custom.

Tum meæ (si quid loquar audiendum)
Vocis accedet bona pars; et O Sol
Pulcher, ô laudande, canam, recepto
Cæsare felix.———

Te decem tauri, totidemque vaccæ;
Me tener solvet vitulus—— Hor. Od. 2. Lib. 4.

And there, if any patient ear
My Muse's feeble song will hear
My voice shall sound thro' *Rome:*
Thee, Sun, I'll sing, thee, lovely fair,
Thee, thee I'll praise, when *Cæsar*'s come.———

Ten large fair bulls, ten lusty cows,
Must die, to pay thy richer vows;
Of my small stock of kine
A calf just wean'd——— Mr. *Creech.*

Italy has a *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand, to denote her fruitfulness ; Fig. 8.

——*magna parens frugum Saturnia tellus.* Virg. Geor. [2].

and a crown of towers on her head, to figure out the many towns and cities that stand upon her. *Lucan* has given her the like ornament, where he represents her addressing her self to *Julius Cæsar.*

Ingens visa duci patriæ trepidantis Imago :
Clara per obscuram vultu mæstissima noctem,
Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines,
Cæsarie, lacerâ nudisque adstare lacertis,
Et gemitu permista loqui——— Lucan. Lib. 1.

Amidst the dusky horrors of the night,
A wondrous vision stood confest to sight;
Her awful head *Rome*'s rev'rend image rear'd,
Trembling and sad the Matron form appear'd;
A tow'ry crown her hoary temples bound,
And her torn tresses rudely hung around:
Her naked arms uplifted e're she spoke,
Then groaning thus the mournful silence broke. Mr. *Rowe.*

She holds a scepter in her other hand, and sits on a globe of the heavens, to shew that she is the Sovereign of nations, and that all the influences of the Sun and Stars fall on her dominions. *Claudian* makes the same compliment to *Rome.*

Ipsa triumphatis quæ possidet æthera regnis.
Claud. in Prob. et Olyb. Cons.

Jupiter arce suâ totum dum spectat in orbem,
Nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet. Ov. de fast. Lib. 1.

Jove finds no realm, when he the globe surveys,
But what to *Rome* submissive homage pays.

Orbem jam totum victor Romanus habebat,
Quà mare, quà tellus, quà sidus currit utrumque. Petron.

Now *Rome*, sole Empress, reign'd from pole to pole,
Wherever earth extends, or oceans roll.

Fig. 9. The picture that *Claudian* makes of *Rome* one would think was copied from the next Medal.

———innuptæ ritus imitata Minervæ:
Nam neque cæsariem crinali stringere cultu,
Colla nec ornatu patitur mollire retorto:
Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
Audacem retegit mammam, laxumque coercens
Mordet gemma sinum.———
Clipeus Titana lucessit
Lumine, quem totâ variarat Mulciber arte;
Hîc patrius, Mavortis amor, fœtusque notantur
Romulei, post amnis inest, et bellua nutrix.
Claud. in Prob. et Olyb. Cons.

No costly fillets knot her hair behind,
Nor female trinkets round her neck are twin'd.
Bold on the right her naked arm she shows,
And half her bosom's unpolluted snows;
Whilst on the left is buckled o'er her breast,
In diamond clasps the military vest.
The Sun was dazled as her shield she rear'd,
Where, varied o'er by *Mulciber*, appear'd
The loves of *Mars* her Sire, fair *Ilia*'s joys,
The wolf, the *Tyber*, and the infant boys.

Fig. 10. The next figure is *Achaia*.

I am sorry, says *Cynthio*, to find you running farther off us. I was in hopes you would have shown us our own nation, when you were so near us as *France*. I have here, Fig. 11. says *Philander*, one of *Augustus*'s *Britannia*'s. You see she is not drawn like other countries, in a soft peaceful posture, but is adorned with emblems that mark out the military genius of her Inhabitants. This is, I think, the only commendable quality that the old Poets have touched upon in the description of our country. I had once made a collection of all the passages in the *Latin* Poets, that give any account of us, but I find them so very malicious, that it would look like a libel on the nation to repeat them to you. We seldom meet with our Forefathers, but they are coupled with some epithet or another to blacken them. Barbarous, Cruel and Inhospitable are the best terms

they can afford us, which it would be a kind of injustice to publish, since their posterity are become so polite, good-natured, and kind to strangers. To mention therefore those parts only that relate to the present Medal. She sits on a globe that stands in water, to denote that she is Mistress of a new world, separate from that which the *Romans* had before conquered, by the interposition of the sea. I think we cannot doubt of this interpretation, if we consider how she has been represented by the ancient Poets.

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos. Virg. Ec. 1.

The rest among the *Britons* be confin'd;
A race of men from all the world disjoin'd. Mr. *Dryden.*

Adspice, confundit populos impervia tellus:
Conjunctum est, quod adhuc orbis, et orbis erat.
Vet. Poet. apud Scalig. Catul.

At nunc oceanus geminos interluit orbes.
Id. de Britanniâ et opposito Continente.

———nostro diducta Britannia mundo. Claud.

Nec stetit oceano, remisque ingressa profundum,
Vincendos alio quæsivit in orbe Britannos. Id.

The feet of *Britannia* are washed by the waves, in the same Poet.

————cujus vestigia verrit
Cærulus, oceanique æstum mentitur, amictus.
Id. de Laud. Stil. Lib. 2.

She bears a *Roman* Ensign in one of her hands, to confess herself a conquered province.

————victricia Cæsar
Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos. Sidon. Apollin.

But to return to *Achaia*, whom we left upon her knees before the Emperor *Adrian*. She has a pot before her with a sprig of Parsly rising out of it. I will not here Fig. 10.

trouble you with a dull story of *Hercules*'s eating a sallade of Parsly for his refreshment, after his encounter with the *Nemean* Lion. It is certain, there were in *Achaia* the *Nemean* Games, and that a garland of Parsly was the Victor's reward. You have an account of these Games in *Ausonius*.

Quattuor antiquos celebravit Achaïa Ludos,
Cælicolûm duo sunt, et duo festa hominum.
Sacra Jovis, Phœbique, Palæmonis, Archemorique:
Serta quibus pinus, malus, oliva, apium. Aus. de Lustral. Agon.

Greece, in four games thy martial youth were train'd;
For Heroes two, and two for Gods ordain'd:
Jove bade the Olive round his Victor wave;
Phœbus to his an Apple-garland gave:
The Pine, *Palæmon*; nor with less renown,
Archemorus conferr'd the Parsly-crown.

Archemori Nemeæa colunt funebria Thebæ. Id. de locis. Agon.

———*Alcides Nemeæ sacravit honorem.* de Auct. Agon. Id.

Archemori Nemeæa colunt funebria Thebæ. Id.

One reason why they chose Parsly for a Garland, was doubtless because it always preserves its verdure, as *Horace* opposes it to the short-lived Lilly.

Neu vivax apium, nec breve lilium. Lib. 1. Od. 36.

Let fading Lillies and the Rose
Their beauty and their smell disclose;
Let long-liv'd Parsly grace the feast,
And gently cool the heated guest. Mr. *Creech.*

Juvenal mentions the Crown that was made of it, and which here surrounds the head of *Achaia*.

———*Graiæque apium meruisse coronæ.* Juv. Sat. 8.

And winning at a Wake their Parsly crown. M. *Stepney.*

She presents herself to the Emperor in the same posture that the *Germans* and *English* still salute the Imperial and Royal family.

———*jus imperiumque Phraates*
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor.———— Hor. Epis. 12. Li. 1.

The haughty *Parthian* now to *Cæsar* kneels. Mr. *Creech.*

Ille qui donat diadema fronti
Quem genu nixæ tremuere gentes. Senec. Thyest. Act 3.

———*Non, ut inflexo genu.*
Regnantem adores, petimus. Idem.

Te linguis variæ gentes, missique rogatum
Fœdera Persarum proceres cum patre sedentem,
Hac quondam videre domo ; positâque tiarâ
Submisere genu.——————— Claud. ad Honorium.

Thy infant Virtue various climes admir'd,
And various tongues to sound thy praise conspir'd:
Thee next the Sovereign seat, the *Persians* view'd,
When in this Regal Dome for peace they su'd:
Each Turban low, in sign of worship, wav'd;
And every knee confest the boon they crav'd.

Sicily appears before *Adrian* in the same posture She has a bundle of Corn in her hand, and a Garland of it on her head, as she abounds in wheat, and was consecrated to *Ceres.* Fig. 12.

Utraque frugiferis est Insula nobilis arvis:
Nec plus Hesperiam longinquis messibus ullæ,
Nec Romana magis complerunt horrea terræ.
de Sicilia et Sardinia. Lu. Li. 2.

Sardinia too, renow'd for yellow fields,
With *Sicily* her bounteous tribute yields;
No lands a glebe of richer tillage boast,
Nor waft more plenty to the *Roman* coast. Mr. *Rowe.*

Terra tribus scopulis vatum procurrit in æquor
Trinacris, a positu nomen adepta loci,
Grata domus Cereri. multas ibi possidet urbes:
In quibus est culto fertilis Henna solo. Ov. de Fast. Li. 4.

To *Ceres* dear, the fruitful land is fam'd
For three tall Capes, and thence *Trinacria* nam'd:
There *Henna* well rewards the tiller's toil,
The fairest Champian of the fairest Isle.

Fig. 13. We find *Judæa* on several coins of *Vespasian* and *Titus*, in a posture that denotes sorrow and captivity. The first figure of her is drawn to the life, in a picture that *Seneca* has given us of the *Trojan* matrons bewailing their captivity.

———————paret exertos
Turba lacertos. Veste remissâ
Substringe sinus, uteroque tenus
Pateant artus———————
———————cadat ex humeris
Vestis apertis: imumque tegat
Suffulta latus. jam nuda vocant
Pectora dextras. nunc nunc vires
Exprome, Dolor, tuas
Hecuba ad Trojanarum chorum. Sen. Troas. Act. 1.

———————Bare
Your arms, your vestures slackly ty'd
Beneath your naked bosoms, slide
Down to your wastes———————
———————Let
From your divested shoulders slide
Your garments, down on either side.
Now bared bosoms call for blows,
Now, Sorrow, all thy pow'rs disclose. Sir *Ed. Sherburn.*

———apertæ pectora matres
Significant luctum——————— Ov. Met. Li. 13.

Who bar'd their breasts, and gave their hair to flow:
The signs of grief, and mark of publick woe.

The head is veiled in both figures, as another expression of grief.

———ipsa tristi vestis obtentu caput
Velata, juxta præsides astat Deos. Sen. Herc. fur. Act. 2.

Sic ubi fata, caput ferali obducit amictu,
Decrevitque pati tenebras, puppisque cavernis
Delituit: sævumque arctè complexa dolorem
Perfruitur lacrymis, et amat pro conjuge luctum.
Luc. Li. 9. de Corneliâ.

So said the Matron; and about her head
Her veil she draws, her mournful eyes to shade:
Resolv'd to shroud in thickest shades her woe,
She seeks the ship's deep darksome Hold below:
There lonely left, at leisure to complain,
She hugs her sorrows, and enjoys her pain;
Still with fresh tears the living grief wou'd feed,
And fondly loves it, in her husbands stead. Mr. *Rowe.*

I need not mention her sitting on the ground, because we have already spoken of the aptness of such a posture to represent an extreme affliction. I fancy, says *Eugenius*, the *Romans* might have an eye on the customs of the Jewish nation, as well as of those of their country, in the several marks of sorrow they have set on this figure. The Psalmist describes the *Jews* lamenting their captivity in the same pensive posture. *By the waters of* Babylon *we sate down and wept, when we remembered thee, O* Sion. But what is more remarkable, we find *Judæa* represented as a woman in sorrow sitting on the ground, in a passage of the Prophet, that foretels the very captivity recorded on this Medal. The covering of the head, and the rending of garments, we find very often in Holy Scripture, as the expressions of a raging grief. But what is the tree we see on both these Medals? We find, says *Philander*, not only on these, but on several other coins that relate to *Judæa*, the figure of a Palm-tree, to show us that Palms are the growth of the country. Thus *Silius Italicus*, speaking of *Vespasian*'s conquest, that is the subject of this Medal.

Palmiferamque senex bello domitabit Idumen. Sil. It. Li. 3.

Martial seems to have hinted at the many pieces of painting and sculpture that were occasioned by this conquest of *Judæa*, and had generally something of the Palm-tree in them. It begins an Epigram on the death of *Scorpus* a chariot-driver, which in those degenerate times of the Empire was looked upon as a public calamity.

Tristis Idumæas frangat Victoria palmas;
Plange Favor sæva pectora nuda manu. Mart. Li. 10. Epig. 50.

The man by the Palm-tree in the first of these Medals,

is supposed to be a *Jew* with his hands bound behind him.

Fig. 14. I need not tell you that the winged figure on the other Medal is a *Victory*. She is represented here as on many other coins, writing something on a shield. We find this way of registring a *Victory* touched upon in *Virgil*, and *Silius Italicus*.

Ære cavo clypeum, magni gestamen Abantis,
Postibus adversis figo, et rem carmine signo;
Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma. Virg. Æn. Li. 3.

I fix'd upon the Temple's lofty door
The brazen shield, which vanquish'd *Abas* bore:
The verse beneath my name and actions speaks,
"These arms *Æneas* took from conqu'ring *Greeks*. Mr. *Dryden*.

Pyrenes tumulo clypeum cum carmine figunt;
Hasdrubalis spolium Gradivo Scipio victor. Sil. Ital. Li. 15.

High on *Pyrene*'s airy top they plac'd,
The captive Shield, with this inscription grac'd:
"Sacred to *Mars*, these votive spoils proclaim
"The fate of *Asdrubal*, and *Scipio*'s fame.

Fig. 15. *Parthia* has on one side of her the Bow and Quiver which are so much talked of by the Poets. *Lucan*'s account of the *Parthians* is very pretty and poetical.

———*Parthoque sequente*
Murus erit, quodcunque potest obstare sagittæ———
Illita tela dolis, nec Martem comminus unquam
Ausa pati virtus, sed longè tendere nervos,
Et, quo ferre velint, permittere vulnera ventis. Luc. Li. 8.

Each fence, that can their winged shafts endure,
Stands, like a fort, impregnable, secure———
To taint their coward darts is all their care,
And then to trust them to the flitting air. Mr. *Rowe*.

———*Sagittiferosque Parthos.* Catul.

The Crown she holds in her hand, refers to the crown of gold that *Parthia*, as well as other provinces, presented

to the Emperor *Antonine*. The presenting a Crown, was the giving up the soveraignty into his hands.

Ipse oratores ad me, regnique coronam,
Cum sceptro misit———— Virg. Æn. Li. 8.

Tarchon, the *Tuscan* Chief, to me has sent
Their Crown, and ev'ry regal ornament. Mr. *Dryden*.

Antioch has an Anchor by her, in memory of her founder *Seleucus*, whose race was all born with this mark upon them, if you'll believe Historians. *Ausonius* has taken notice of it in his verses on this city. Fig. 16.

————*Illa Seleucum*
Nuncupat ingenuum, cujus fuit Anchora signum,
Qualis inusta solet; generis nota certa, per omnem
Nam sobolis seriem nativa cucurrit imago.
Aus. Ordo. Nobil. Urbium.

Thee, great *Seleucus*, bright in *Grecian* fame!
The tow'rs of *Antioch* for their founder claim:
Thee *Phœbus* at thy birth his son confest,
By the fair Anchor on the babe imprest;
Which all thy genuine off-spring wont to grace,
From thigh to thigh transmissive thro' the race.

Smyrna is always represented by an *Amazon*, that is said to have been her first foundress. You see her here ent'ring into a league with *Thyatira*. Each of them holds her tutelar Deity in her hand. Fig. 17.

Jus ille, et icti fœderis testes Deos
Invocat.———— Sen. Phœnissæ. Act. 1.

On the left arm of *Smyrna*, is the *Pelta* or Buckler of the *Amazons*, as the long weapon by her is the *Bipennis* or *Securis*.

Non tibi Amazonia est pro me sumenda securis,
Aut excisa levi pelta gerenda manu. Ov. Li. 3. Epis. 1. ex Pont.

Lunatis agmina peltis. Virg.

In their right hands a pointed Dart they wield;
The left, for ward, sustains the lunar Shield. Mr. *Dryden*.

Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem, et Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi
Dextras obarmet quærere distuli. Hor. Od. 4. Li. 4.

Such *Drusus* did in arms appear,
When near the *Alps* he urg'd the war:
In vain the *Rhæti* did their axes wield,
Like *Amazons* they fought, like women fled the field:
But why those savage troops this weapon chuse,
Confirm'd by long establish'd use,
Historians would in vain disclose.

Fig. 18. The dress that *Arabia* appears in, brings to my mind the description *Lucan* has made of these eastern nations.

Qu[i]cquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique teporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia cæli.
Illic et laxas vestes, et fluxa virorum
Velamenta vides.——— Luc. Lib. 8.

While *Asia*'s softer climate, form'd to please,
Dissolves her sons in indolence and ease.
Here silken robes invest unmanly limbs,
And in long trains the flowing Purple streams. Mr. *Rowe.*

She bears in one hand a sprig of frankincense.

———solis est thurea virga Sabeis. Virg.

And od'rous frankincense on the *Sabæan* bough. Mr. *Dryden.*

Thuriferos Arabum saltus. Claud de 3. Cons. Honor.

Thurilegos Arabas——— Ov. de Fas. Lib. 4.

In the other hand you see the perfumed reed, as the garland on her head may be supposed to be woven out of some other part of her fragrant productions.

Nec procul in molles Arabas terramque ferentem
Delicias, variæque novos radicis honores;
Leniter adfundit gemmantia littora pontus,
Et terræ mare nomen habet—— de sinu Arabico. Manil. Lib. 4.

More west the other soft *Arabia* beats,
Where incense grows, and pleasing odour sweats:
The Bay is call'd th' *Arabian* gulf; the name
The country gives it, and 'tis great in fame. Mr. *Creech.*

Urantur pia thura focis, urantur odores,
Quos tener à terrâ divite mittit Arabs. Tibul. Lib. 2. El. 2.

———————*sit dives amomo,*
Cinnamaque, costumque suam, sudataque ligno
Thura ferat, floresque alios Panchaïa tellus,
Dum ferat et Myrrham. Ov. Met. Lib. 10.

Let *Araby* extol her happy coast,
Her Cinamon, and sweet *Amomum* boast;
Her fragrant flowers, her trees with precious tears,
Her second harvests, and her double years:
How can the land be call'd so bless'd, that *Myrrha* bears?
Mr. *Dryden.*

———*Odoratæ spirant medicamina Sylvæ.* Manil.

The trees drop balsam, and on all the boughs
Health sits, and makes it sovereign as it flows. Mr. *Creech.*

Cinnami sylvas Arabes beatos
Vidit——— Sen. OEdip. Act. 1.

What a delicious country is this, says *Cynthio?* a man almost smells it in the descriptions that are made of it. The Camel is in *Arabia*, I suppose, a beast of burden, that helps to carry off its spices. We find the Camel, says *Philander*, mentioned in *Persius* on the same account.

Tolle recens primus piper è sitiente Camelo. Pers. Sat. 5.

———————The precious weight
Of pepper, and *Sabæan* incense, take
With thy own hands, from the tir'd Camel's back. Mr. *Dryden.*

He loads the Camel with pepper, because the animal and its cargo are both the productions of the same country.

Mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti
Rugosum piper——— Id. Sat. 5.

The greedy Merchants, led by lucre, run
To the parch'd *Indies* and the rising Sun;
From thence hot pepper, and rich drugs they bear,
Bart'ring for spices their *Italian* ware. Mr. *Dryden.*

You have given us some quotations out of *Persius* this morning, says *Eugenius*, that in my opinion have a great deal of poetry in them. I have often wondered at Mr. *Dryden* for passing so severe a censure on this Author. He fancies the description of a Wreck that you have already cited, is too good for *Persius*, and that he might be helpt in it by *Lucan*, who was one of his contemporaries. For my part, says *Cynthio*, I am so far from Mr. *Dryden*'s opinion in this particular, that I fancy *Persius* a better Poet than *Lucan*: and that had he been engaged on the same subject, he would at least in his Expressions and Descriptions have out-writ the *Pharsalia*. He was indeed employed on subjects that seldom led him into any thing like Description, but where he has an occasion of shewing himself, we find very few of the *Latin* Poets that have given a greater beauty to their Expressions. His obscurities are indeed sometimes affected, but they generally arise from the remoteness of the Customs, Persons and Things he alludes to: as Satyr is for this reason more difficult to be understood by those that are not of the same Age with it, than any other kind of Poetry. Love-verses and Heroics deal in Images that are ever fixed and settled in the nature of things, but a thousand ideas enter into Satyr, that are as changeable and unsteady as the mode or the humours of mankind.

Our three friends had passed away the whole morning among their Medals and *Latin* Poets. *Philander* told them it was now too late to enter on another Series, but if they would take up with such a dinner as he could meet with at his Lodgings, he would afterwards lay the rest of his Medals before them. *Cynthio* and *Eugenius* were both of them so well pleased with the novelty of the subject, that they would not refuse the offer *Philander* made them.

DIALOGUE III.

————causa est discriminis hujus
Concisum Argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
Juv. Sat. 14

A Parallel between the Ancient and Modern Medals.

PHILANDER used every morning to take a walk in a neighbouring wood, that stood on the borders of the *Thames*. It was cut through by abundance of beautiful allies, which terminating on the water, looked like so many painted views in perspective. The banks of the river and the thickness of the shades drew into them all the birds of the country, that at Sun-rising filled the wood with such a variety of notes, as made the prettiest confusion imaginable. I know in descriptions of this nature the scenes are generally supposed to grow out of the Author's imagination, and if they are not charming in all their parts, the Reader never imputes it to the want of sun or soil, but to the Writer's barrenness of invention. It is *Cicero*'s observation on the Plane-tree, that makes so flourishing a figure in one of *Plato*'s Dialogues, that it did not draw its nourishment from the fountain that ran by it and watered its roots, but from the richness of the stile that describes it. For my own part, as I design only to fix the scene of the following Dialogue, I shall not endeavour to give it any other ornaments than those which nature has bestowed upon it.

Philander was here enjoying the cool of the morning, among the dews that lay on every thing about him, and that gave the air such a freshness as is not a little agreeable

in the hot part of the year. He had not been here long before he was joyned by *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*. *Cynthio* immediately fell upon *Philander* for breaking his night's rest. You have so filled my head, says he, with old Coins, that I have had nothing but figures and inscriptions before my eyes. If I chanced to fall into a little slumber, it was immediately interrupted with the vision of a *Caduceus* or a *Cornu-copiæ*. You will make me believe, says *Philander*, that you begin to be reconciled to Medals. They say it is a sure sign a man loves money, when he is used to find it in his dreams. There is certainly, says *Eugenius*, something like Avarice in the study of Medals. The more a man knows of them, the more he desires to know. There is one subject in particular that *Cynthio*, as well as my self, has a mind to engage you in. We would fain know how the Ancient and Modern Medals differ from one another, and which of them deserves the preference. You have a mind to engage me in a subject, says *Philander*, that is perhaps of a larger extent than you imagine. To examine it throughly, it would be necessary to take them in pieces, and to speak of the difference that shews it self in their Metals, in the Occasion of stamping them, in the Inscriptions, and in the Figures that adorn them. Since you have divided your subject, says *Cynthio*, be so kind as to enter on it without any further preface.

We should first of all, says *Philander*, consider the difference of the Metals that we find in ancient and modern Coins, but as this speculation is more curious than improving, I believe you will excuse me if I do not dwell long upon it. One may understand all the learned part of this science, without knowing whether there were Coins of iron or lead among the old *Roma[n]s*, and if a man is well acquainted with the Device of a Medal, I do not see what necessity there is of being able to tell whether the Medal it self be of copper or *Corinthian* brass. There is however so great a difference between the antique and modern Medals, that I have seen an Antiquary lick an old Coin among other trials, to distinguish the age of it by its Taste. I remember when I laught at him for it, he told me with a great deal of vehemence, there was as much difference between the relish of ancient and modern brass, as between

an apple and a turnep. It is pity, says *Eugenius*, but they found out the Smell too of an ancient Medal. They would then be able to judge of it by all the senses. The Touch, I have heard, gives almost as good evidence as the Sight, and the Ringing of a Medal is, I know, a very common experiment. But I suppose this last proof you mention relates only to such Coins as are made of your baser sorts of metal. And here, says *Philander*, we may observe the prudence of the Ancients above that of the Moderns, in the care they took to perpetuate the memory of great actions. They knew very well that silver and gold might fall into the hands of the covetous or ignorant, who would not respect them for the Device they bore, but for the Metal they were made of. Nor were their apprehensions ill founded; for it is not easily imagined how many of these noble monuments of history have perished in the goldsmiths hands, before they came to be collected together by the learned men of these two or three last Centuries. Inscriptions, Victories, Buildings, and a thousand other pieces of antiquity were melted down in these barbarous Ages, that thought figures and letters only served to spoil the gold that was charged with them. Your Medallists look on this destruction of Coins, as on the burning of the *Alexandrian* Library, and would be content to compound for them, with almost the loss of a *Vatican*. To prevent this in some measure, the ancients placed the greatest variety of their devices on their brass and copper Coins, which are in no fear of falling into the clippers hands, nor in any danger of melting till the general conflagration. On the contrary, our modern Medals are most in silver or gold, and often in a very small number of each. I have seen a golden one at *Vienna*, of *Philip* the second, that weighed two and twenty pound, which is probably singular in its kind, and will not be able to keep it self long out of the furnace when it leaves the Emperor's Treasury. I remember another in the King of *Prussia*'s collection, that has in it three pound weight of gold. The Princes who struck these Medals, says *Eugenius*, seem to have designed them rather as an ostentation of their Wealth, than of their Virtues. They fancied probably, it was a greater honour to appear in gold than in copper, and that a Medal receives all its value from

the rarity of the metal. I think the next subject you proposed to speak of, were the different Occasions that have given birth to ancient and modern Medals.

Before we enter on this particular, says *Philander*, I must tell you by way of preliminary, that formerly there was no difference between Money and Medals. An old *Roman* had his purse full of the same pieces that we now preserve in Cabinets. As soon as an Emperor had done any thing remarkable, it was immediately stamped on a Coin, and became current through his whole Dominions. It was a pretty contrivance, says *Cynthio*, to spread abroad the virtues of an Emperor, and make his actions circulate. A fresh Coin was a kind of a *Gazette*, that published the latest news of the Empire. I should fancy your *Roman* Bankers were very good Historians. It is certain, says *Eugenius*, they might find their profit and instruction mixed together. I have often wondered that no nation among the moderns has imitated the ancient *Romans* in this particular. I know no other way of securing these kinds of monuments, and making them numerous enough to be handed down to future ages. But where Statesmen are ruled by a spirit of faction and interest, they can have no passion for the glory of their country, nor any concern for the figure it will make among posterity. A man that talks of his nation's honour a thousand years hence, is in very great danger of being laught at. We shall think, says *Cynthio*, you have a mind to fall out with the Government, because it does not encourage Medals. But were all your ancient Coins that are now in Cabinets once current money? It is the most probable opinion, says *Philander*, that they were all of them such, excepting those we call Medalions. These in respect of the other Coins were the same as modern Medals, in respect of modern money. They were exempted from all commerce, and had no other value but what was set upon them by the fancy of the owner. They are supposed to have been struck by Emperors for presents to their Friends, foreign Princes, or Ambassadors. However, that the smallness of their number might not endanger the loss of the devices they bore, the *Romans* took care generally to stamp the subject of their medalions on their ordinary Coins that were the running cash of the nation. As if in

England we should see on our half-peny and farthing pieces, the several designs that show themselves in their perfection on our Medals.

If we now consider, continued *Philander*, the different Occasions or Subjects of ancient and modern Medals, we shall find they both agree in recording the great actions and successes in war, allowing still for the different ways of making it, and the circumstances that attended it in past ages, and in the present. I shall instance one. I do not remember in any old Coin to have seen the taking of a town mentioned: as indeed there were few conquerors could signalize themselves that way before the invention of powder and fortifications, a single battle often deciding the fate of whole kingdoms. Our modern Medals give us several sieges and plans of fortified towns, that show themselves in all their parts to a great advantage on the reverse of a Coin. It is indeed, a kind of justice, says *Eugenius*, that a Prince owes to posterity, after he has ruined or defaced a strong place to deliver down to them a model of it as it stood whole and entire. The Coin repairs in some measure the mischiefs of his Bombs and Cannons. In the next place, says *Philander*, we see both on the ancient and modern Medals the several noble pieces of Architecture that were finished at the time when the Medals were stamped. I must observe however, to the honour of the latter, that they have represented their buildings according to the rules of perspective. This I remember to have seen but in very few of the plans on ancient Coins, which makes them appear much less beautiful than the modern, especially to a mathematical eye. Thus far our two setts of Medals agree as to their Subject. But old Coins go farther in their compliments to their Emperor, as they take occasion to celebrate his distinguishing Virtues; not as they showed themselves in any particular action, but as they shone out in the general view of his character. This humour went so far, that we see *Nero*'s fidling, and *Commodus*'s skill in fencing, on several of their Medals. At present, you never meet with the King of *France*'s generosity, nor the Emperor's devotion recorded after this manner. Again, the *Romans* used to register the great actions of Peace that turned to the good of the people, as well as those of War.

The remission of a Debt, the taking off a Duty, the giving up a Tax, the mending a Port, or the making a Highway, were not looked upon as improper subjects for a Coin. They were glad of any opportunity to encourage their Emperors in the humour of doing good, and knew very well, that many of these acts of beneficence had a wider and more lasting influence on the happiness and welfare of a people, than the gaining a Victory, or the Conquest of a nation. In *England* perhaps it would have looked a little odd, to have stamped a Medal on the abolishing of Chimney-money in the last Reign, or on the giving a hundred thousand pound a year towards the carrying on a war, in this. I find, says *Eugenius*, had we struck in with the practice of the ancient *Romans*, we should have had Medals on the fitting up our several Docks, on the making of our Rivers navigable, on the building our men of War, and the like subjects, that have certainly very well deserved them. The reason why it has been neglected, says *Philander*, may possibly be this. Our Princes have the coining of their own Medals, and perhaps may think it would look like vanity to erect so many Trophies and Monuments of praise to their own merit; whereas among the ancient *Romans*, the Senate had still a watchful eye on their Emperor, and if they found any thing in his life and actions that might furnish out a Medal, they did not fail of making him so acceptable an offering. 'Tis true, their flatteries betray often such a baseness of spirit, as one would little expect to find among such an order of men. And here by the way we may observe, that you never find any thing like Satyr or Raillery on old Coins.

Whatever victories were got on foreign enemies, or the several pretenders to the Empire obtained over one another, they are recorded on Coins without the least bitterness or reflection. The Emperors often jested on their rivals or predecessors, but their Mints still maintained their gravity. They might publish invectives against one another in their discourses or writings, but never on their Coins. Had we no other histories of the *Roman* Emperors, but those we find on their money, we should take them for the most virtuous race of Princes that mankind were ever blessed with: whereas, if we look into their lives, they appear many

of them such monsters of lust and cruelty, as are almost a reproach to human nature. Medals are therefore so many compliments to an Emperor, that ascribe to him all the Virtues and Victories he himself pretended to. Were you to take from hence all your informations, you would fancy *Claudius* as great a Conqueror as *Julius Cæsar*, and *Domitian* a wiser Prince than his brother *Titus*. *Tiberius* on his Coins is all Mercy and Moderation, *Caligula* and *Nero* are Fathers of their Country, *Galba* the patron of public Liberty, and *Vitellius* the restorer of the city of *Rome*. In short, if you have a mind to see the religious *Commodus*, the pious *Caracalla*, and the devout *Heliogabalus*, you may find them either in the inscription or device of their Medals. On the contrary, those of a modern make are often charged with Irony and Satyr. Our Kings no sooner fall out, but their mints make war upon one another, and their malice appears on their Medals. One meets sometimes with very nice touches of Raillery, but as we have no instance of it among the ancient Coins, I shall leave you to determine, whether or no it ought to find a place there. I must confess, says *Cynthio*, I believe we are generally in the wrong, when we deviate from the ancients: because their practice is for the most part grounded upon reason. But if our fore-fathers have thought fit to be grave and serious, I hope their posterity may laugh without offence. For my part, I cannot but look on this kind of Raillery as a refinement on Medals: and do not see why there may not be some for diversion, at the same time that there are others of a more solemn and majestic nature, as a Victory may be celebrated in an Epigram as well as in an Heroic Poem. Had the ancients given place to Raillery on any of their Coins, I question not but they would have been the most valued parts of a collection. Besides the entertainment we should have found in them, they would have shown us the different state of Wit, as it flourished or decayed in the several ages of the *Roman* Empire. There is no doubt, says *Philander*, but our fore-fathers, if they had pleased, could have been as witty as their posterity. But I am of opinion, they industriously avoided it on their Coins, that they might not give us occasion to suspect their sincerity. Had they

run into mirth or satyr we should not have thought they had designed so much to instruct as to divert us. I have heard, says *Eugenius*, that the *Romans* stamped several Coins on the same occasion. If we follow their example, there will be no danger of deceiving posterity: since the more serious sort of Medals may serve as Comments on those of a lighter character. However it is, the raillery of the Moderns cannot be worse than the flattery of the Ancients. But hitherto you have only mentioned such Coins as were made on the Emperor, I have seen several of our own time that have been made as a compliment to private persons. There are pieces of money, says *Philander*, that during the time of the *Roman* Emperors, were coined in honour of the Senate, Army or People. I do not remember to have seen in the upper Empire the face of any private person that was not some way related to the Imperial family. *Sejanus* had indeed his Consulship mentioned on a Coin of *Tiberius*, as he has the honour to give a name to the year in which our Saviour was crucified. We are now come to the Legend or Inscription of our Medals, which as it is one of the more essential parts of them, it may deserve to be examined more at length. You have chosen a very short Text to enlarge upon, says *Cynthio*: I should as soon expect to see a Critique on the Posie of a Ring, as on the Inscription of a Medal.

I have seen several modern Coins, says *Philander*, that have had part of the Legend running round the edges, like the *Decus et Tutamen* in our milled money; so that a few years will probably wear out the action that the Coin was designed to perpetuate. The ancients were too wise to register their exploits on so nice a surface. I should fancy, says *Eugenius*, the moderns may have chosen this part of the Medal for the inscription, that the figures on each side might appear to a greater advantage. I have observed in several old Coins a kind of confusion between the legend and the device. The figures and letters were so mingled together, that one would think the Coiner was hard put to it on what part of the money to bestow the several words of his inscription. You have found out something like an excuse, says *Philander*, for your milled Medals, if they carried the whole legend on their edges. But at the

same time that they are lettered on the edges, they have other inscriptions on the face and the reverse. Your modern Designers cannot contract the occasion of the Medal into an inscription that is proper to the Volume they write upon: so that having scribbled over both sides, they are forced, as it were, to write upon the margin. The first fault therefore that I shall find with a modern legend, is its Diffusiveness. You have sometimes the whole side of a Medal over-run with it. One would fancy the Author had a design of being *Ciceronian* in his *Latin*, and of making a round period. I will give you only the reverse of a Coin stampt by the present Emperor of *Germany*, on the raising of the siege of *Vienna*. VIENNA AVSTRIÆ $\frac{4}{14}$ IVLII AB ACHMETE II. OBSESSA $\frac{2}{12}$ SEPT. EX INSPERATO AB EO DESERTA EST. I should take this, says *Cynthio*, for the paragraph of a *Gazette*, rather than the inscription of a Medal. I remember you represented your ancient Coins as abridgments of history; but your modern, if there are many of them like this, should themselves be epitomized. Compare with this, says *Philander*, the brevity and comprehensiveness of those legends that appear on ancient Coins.

Salus Generis humani. Tellus stabilita. Gloria Orbis Terræ. Pacator Orbis. Restitutor Orbis Terrarum. Gaudium Reipublicæ. Hilaritas populi Romani. Bono Reipub. nati. Roma renascens. Libertas restituta. Sæculum Aureum. Puellæ Faustinianæ. Rex Parthis datus. Victoria Germanica. Fides Mutua. Asia Subacta. Judæa capta. Amor mutuus. Genetrix orbis. Sideribus recepta. Genio Senatûs. Fides exercitûs. Providentia Senatûs. Restitutori Hispaniæ. Adventui Aug. Britanniæ. Regna Adsignata. Adlocutio. Discipulina Augusti. Felicitas publica. Rex Armenis datus.

What a majesty and force does one meet with in these short Inscriptions! Are not you amazed to see so much history gathered into so small a compass? You have often the subject of a Volume in a couple of words.

If our modern Medals are so very prolix in their prose, they are every whit as tedious in their verse. You have sometimes a dull Epigram of four lines. This, says

Cynthio, may be of great use to immortalize Punns and Quibbles, and to let posterity see their forefathers were a parcel of blockheads. A Coin, I find, may be of great use to a bad Poet. If he cannot become immortal by the goodness of his verse, he may by the durableness of the Metal that supports it. I shall give you an instance, says *Philander*, from a Medal of *Gustavus Adolphus*, that will stand as an eternal monument of Dullness and Bravery.

Miles ego Christi, Christo duce sterno tyrannos,
Hæreticos simul et calco meis pedibus.
Parcere Christicolis me, debellare feroces
Papicolas Christus dux meus en animat.

It is well, says *Cynthio*, you tell us this is a Medal of the Great *Gustavus:* I should have taken it for some one of his *Gothic* Predecessors. Does it not bring into your mind *Alexander* the Great's being accompanied with a *Chærilus* in his *Persian* expedition? If you are offended at the homeliness of this Inscription, says *Philander*, what would you think of such as have neither sense nor grammar in them. I assure you I have seen the face of many a great Monarch hemmed in with false *Latin*. But it is not only the stupidity and tediousness of these Inscriptions that I find fault with; supposing them of a moderate length and proper sense, why must they be in verse? We should be surprized to see the title of a serious book in rhime, yet it is every whit as ridiculous to give the subject of a Medal in a piece of an Hexameter. This however is the practice of our modern Medallists. If you look into the ancient Inscriptions, you see an air of simplicity in the words, but a great magnificence in the thought; on the contrary, in your modern Medals you have generally a trifling thought wrapt up in the beginning or end of an Heroic verse. Where the sense of an Inscription is low, it is not in the power of *Dactyls* and *Spondees* to raise it; where it is noble, it has no need of such affected ornaments. I remember a Medal of *Philip* the second, on *Charles le Quint*'s resigning to him the Kingdom of *Spain*, with this Inscription, *Ut Quiescat Atlas*. The Device is a *Hercules* with the Sphere on his shoulders. Notwithstand-

ing the thought is poetical, I dare say you would think the beauty of the Inscription very much lost, had it been —— *requiescat ut Atlas.* To instance a Medal of our own nation. After the conclusion of the peace with *Holland*, there was one stampt with the following Legend ——— *Redeant Commercia Flandris.* The thought is here great enough, but in my opinion it would have looked much greater in two or three words of prose. I think truly, says *Eugenius*, it is ridiculous enough to make the Inscription run like a piece of a verse, when it is not taken out of an old Author. But I would fain have your opinion on such Inscriptions as are borrowed from the *Latin* Poets. I have seen several of this sort that have been very prettily applied, and I fancy when they are chosen with art, they should not be thought unworthy of a place in your Medals.

Which ever side I take, says *Philander*, I am like to have a great party against me. Those who have formed their relish on old *Coins*, will by no means allow of such an innovation; on the contrary, your men of wit will be apt to look on it as an improvement on ancient Medals. You will oblige us however to let us know what kind of rules you would have observed in the choice of your quotations, since you seem to lay a stress on their being chosen with Art. You must know then, says *Eugenius*, I do not think it enough that a quotation tells us plain matter of fact, unless it has some other accidental ornaments to set it off. Indeed if a great action that seldom happens in the course of human affairs, is exactly described in the passage of an old Poet, it gives the Reader a very agreeable surprize, and may therefore deserve a place on a Medal.

Again, if there is more than a single circumstance of the action specified in the quotation, it pleases a man to see an old exploit copied out as it were by a Modern, and running parallel with it in several of its particulars.

In the next place, when the quotation is not only apt, but has in it a turn of Wit or Satyr, it is still the better qualified for a Medal, as it has a double capacity of pleasing.

But there is no Inscription fitter for a Medal, in my opinion, than a quotation that besides its aptness has something in it lofty and sublime: for such a one strikes in with the natural greatness of the soul, and produces a

high idea of the person or action it celebrates, which is one of the principal designs of a Medal.

It is certainly very pleasant, says *Eugenius*, to see a verse of an old Poet, revolting as it were from its original sense, and siding with a modern subject. But then it ought to do it willingly of its own accord, without being forced to it by any change in the words, or the punctuation: for when this happens, it is no longer the verse of an ancient Poet, but of him that has converted it to his own use.

You have, I believe, by this time exhausted your subject, says *Philander*; and I think the criticisms you have made on the poetical quotations that we so often meet with in our modern Medals, may be very well applied to the Mottos of books, and other Inscriptions of the same nature. But before we quit the Legends of Medals, I cannot but take notice of a kind of wit that flourishes very much on many of the modern, especially those of *Germany*, when they represent in the Inscription the year in which they were coined. As to mention to you another of *Gustaphus Adolphus*. CHRISTVS DVX ERGO TRIVMPHVS. If you take the pains to pick out the figures from the several words, and range them in their proper order, you will find they amount to 1627, the year in which the Medal was coined; for do not you observe some of the letters distinguish themselves from the rest, and top it over their fellows? these you must consider in a double capacity, as letters or as cyphers. Your laborious *German* Wits will turn you over a whole Dictionary for one of these ingenious Devices. You would fancy perhaps they were searching after an apt classical term, but instead of that, they are looking out a word that has an L. an M. or a D. in it. When therefore you see any of these Inscriptions, you are not so much to look in them for the thought, as for the year of the Lord. There are foreign Universities where this kind of wit is so much in vogue, that as you praise a man in *England* for being an excellent Philosopher or Poet, it is an ordinary character among them to be a great Chronogrammatist. These are probably, says *Cynthio*, some of those mild provinces of Acrostic land, that Mr. *Dryden* has assigned to his Anagrams, Wings and

Altars. We have now done, I suppose, with the Legend of a Medal. I think you promised us in the next place to speak of the Figures.

As we had a great deal of talk on this part of a Coin, replied *Philander*, in our discourse on the Usefulness of ancient Medals, I shall only just touch on the chief heads wherein the Ancient and the Modern differ. In the first place, the *Romans* always appear in the proper Dress of their country, insomuch that you see the little variations of the Mode in the drapery of the Medal. They would have thought it ridiculous to have drawn an Emperor of *Rome* in a *Grecian* Cloak or a *Phrygian* Mitre. On the contrary, our modern Medals are full of *Toga's* and *Tunica's*, *Trabea's* and *Paludamentums*, with a multitude of the like antiquated garments, that have not been in fashion these thousand years. You see very often a King of *England* or *France* dressed up like a *Julius Cæsar*. One would think they had a mind to pass themselves upon posterity for *Roman* Emperors. The same observation may run through several customs and religions, that appear in our ancient and modern Coins. Nothing is more usual than to see Allusions to *Roman* customs and ceremonies on the Medals of our own nation. Nay very often they carry the figure of a heathen god. If posterity takes its notions of us from our Medals, they must fancy one of our Kings paid a great devotion to *Minerva*, that another was a professed Worshipper of *Apollo*, or at best that our whole religion was a mixture of Paganism and Christianity. Had the old *Romans* been guilty of the same extravagance, there would have been so great a confusion in their Antiquities, that their Coins would not have had half the uses we now find in them. We ought to look on Medals as so many monuments consigned over to Eternity, that may possibly last when all other memorials of the same Age are worn out or lost. They are a kind of Present that those who are actually in Being make over to such as lie hid within the depths of Futurity. Were they only designed to instruct the three or four succeeding generations, they are in no great danger of being misunderstood: but as they may pass into the hands of a posterity, that lie many removes from us, and are like to act their part

in the world, when its governments, manners, and religions, may be quite altered; we ought to take a particular care not to make any false reports in them, or to charge them with any Devices that may look doubtful or unintelligible.

I have lately seen, says *Eugenius*, a Medallic history of the present King of *France*. One might expect, methinks, to see the Medals of that nation in the highest perfection, when there is a society pensioned and set apart on purpose for the designing of them.

We will examine them, if you please, says *Philander*, in the light that our foregoing observations have set them: but on this condition, that you do not look on the faults I find in them any more than my own private opinion. In the first place then, I think it is impossible to learn from the *French* Medals either the religion, custom, or habits of the *French* nation. You see on some of them the Cross of our Saviour, and on others *Hercules*'s Club. In one you have an Angel, and in another a *Mercury*. I fancy, says *Cynthio*, posterity would be as much puzzled on the religion of *Louis le Grand*, were they to learn it from his Medals, as we are at present on that of *Constantine* the Great. It is certain, says *Philander*, there is the same mixture of Christian and Pagan in their Coins; nor is there a less confusion in their customs. For example, what relation is there between the figure of a Bull, and the planting of a *French* colony in *America?* The *Romans* made use of this type in allusion to one of their own customs at the sending out of a colony. But for the *French*, a Ram, a Hog, or an Elephant, would have been every whit as significant an emblem. Then can any thing be more unnatural than to see a King of *France* dressed like an Emperor of *Rome*, with his arms stripped up to the elbows, a Laurel on his head, and a *Chlamys* over his shoulders? I fancy, says *Eugenius*, the society of Medallists would give you their reasons for what they have done. You your self allow the Legend to be *Latin*, and why may not the customs and ornaments be of the same country as the language? especially since they are all of them so universally understood by the learned. I own to you, says *Philander*, if they only design to deliver down to posterity the several parts of their Great Monarch's history, it is no matter for

the other circumstances of a Medal; but I fancy it would be as great a pleasure and instruction for future ages, to see the Dresses and Customs of their ancestors, as their Buildings and Victories. Besides, I do not think they have always chosen a proper Occasion for a Medal. There is one struck, for example, on the *English* failing in their attempts on *Dunkirk:* when in the last reign they endeavoured to blow up a Fort, and bombard the town. What have the *French* here done to boast of? A Medal however you have with this inscription, DVNKIRKA IL[L]ÆSA. Not to cavil at the two K's in *Dunkirka*, or the impropriety of the word *Illæsa*, the whole Medal, in my opinion, tends not so much to the honour of the *French* as of the *English*,

——————— *quos opimus*
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.

I could mention a few other faults, or at least what I take for such. But at the same time must be forced to allow, that this Series of Medals is the most perfect of any among the moderns in the beauty of the Work, the aptness of the Device, and the propriety of the Legend. In these and other particulars, the *French* Medals come nearer the ancients than those of any other country, as indeed it is to this nation we are indebted for the best lights that have been given to the whole science in general.

I must not here forget to mention the Medallic history of the Popes, where there are many Coins of an excellent workmanship, as I think they have none of those faults that I have spoken of in the preceding sett. They are always *Roman*-Catholic in the Device and in the Legend, which are both of them many times taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore not unsuitable to the character of the Prince they represent. Thus when *Innocent* XI. lay under terrible apprehensions of the *French* King, he put out a Coin, that on the reverse of it had a ship tossed on the waves to represent the Church. Before it, was the figure of our Saviour walking on the waters, and St. *Peter* ready to sink at his feet. The inscription, if I remember, was in *Latin. Help Lord, or else I perish.* This puts me in mind, says *Cynthio*, of a Pasquinade, that at the same

time was fixed up at *Rome*. *Ad Galli cantum Petrus flet.* But methinks, under this head of the figures on ancient and modern Coins, we might expect to hear your opinion on the difference that appears in the Workmanship of each. You must know then, says *Philander*, that till about the end of the third Century, when there was a general decay in all the arts of designing, I do not remember to have seen the head of a *Roman* Emperor drawn with a full face. They always appear in *profil*, to use a *French* term of art, which gives us the view of a head, that, in my opinion, has something in it very majestic, and at the same time suits best with the dimensions of a Medal. Besides that it shows the nose and eyebrows, with the several prominencies and fallings in of the features, much more distinctly than any other kind of figure. In the lower Empire you have abundance of broad *Gothic* faces, like so many full Moons on the side of a Coin. Among the moderns too, we have of both sorts, though the finest are made after the antique. In the next place, you find the figures of many ancient Coins rising up in a much more beautiful *relief* than those on the modern. This too is a beauty that fell with the grandeur of the *Roman* Emperors, so that you see the face sinking by degrees in the several declensions of the Empire, till about *Constantine*'s time it lies almost even with the surface of the Medal. After this it appears so very plain and uniform, that one would think the Coiner look'd on the flatness of a figure as one of the greatest beauties in Sculpture. I fancy, says *Eugenius*, the Sculptors of that age had the same relish as a *Greek* Priest that was buying some religious pictures at *Venice*. Among others he was shown a noble piece of *Titian*. The Priest having well survey'd it, was very much scandalized at the extravagance of the *relief*, as he termed it. You know, says he, our religion forbids all idolatry: We admit of no Images but such as are drawn on a smooth surface: The figure you have here shown me, stands so much out to the eye, that I would no sooner suffer it in my Church than a Statue. I could recommend your *Greek* Priest, says *Philander*, to abundance of celebrated Painters on this side of the *Alps* that would not fail to please him. We must own however, that the figures on several of our modern

Medals are raised and rounded to a very great perfection. But if you compare them in this particular with the most finished among the ancients, your men of art declare universally for the latter.

Cynthio and *Eugenius*, though they were well pleased with *Philander*'s discourse, were glad however to find it at an end: for the Sun began to gather strength upon them, and had pierced the shelter of their walks in several places. *Philander* had no sooner done talking, but he grew sensible of the heat himself, and immediately proposed to his friends the retiring to his lodgings, and getting a thicker shade over their heads. They both of them very readily closed with the proposal, and by that means give me an opportunity of finishing my Dialogue.

THREE SETTS OF

MEDALS

Illustrated by the

ANCIENT POETS,

In the foregoing DIALOGUES.

——— *decipit*
Frons prima multos ; rara mens intelligit
Interiori condidit quæ cura angulo. Phædr.

Multa poetarum veniet manus, Auxilio quæ
Sit mihi ——— Hor.

THE

FIRST SERIES.

The First Series.

1. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverse of *Domitian.*
2. HONOS ET VIRTVS. Reverse of *Galba.*
3. CONCORDIA AVG. S.C. Reverse of *Sabina.*
4. PAX ORBIS TERRARVM. Reverse of *Otho.*
5. ABVNDANTIA AVG. S.C. Reverse of *Gordianus Pius.*

6, 7. FIDES EXERCITVS. Reverse of *Heliogabalus.*

8. SPES AVGVSTA. Reverse of *Claudius.*
9. SECVRITAS PVBLICA. S.C. Reverse of *Antoninus Pius.*
10. PVDICITIA. S.C. Reverse of *Faustina Junior.*
11. PIETAS AVG. S.C. Reverse of *Faustina Senior.*
12. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverse of *Vitellius.*
13. AETERNITAS. S.C. Reverse of *Antoninus Pius.*
14. SAECVLVM AVREVM. Reverse of *Adrian.*
15. FELIX TEMPORUM REPARATIO. Reverse of *Constantine.*
16. AETERNITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
17. AETERNITAS S.C. Reverse of *Antonine.*
18. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverse of *Nero.*
19. SARMATIA DEVICTA. A Victory. Reverse of *Constantine.*
20. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. S.C. Reverse of *Galba.*

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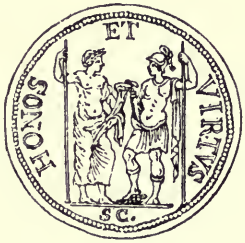

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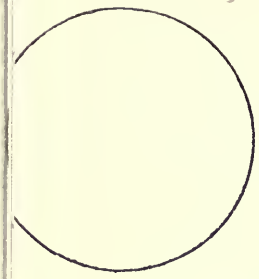

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SECOND SERIES.

1. FELICITATI AVG. COS. III. P.P.S.C. Reverse of *Hadrian.*
2. PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. PP. COS. II.
3. P.N.R.S.C. Reverse of *Claudius.*
4. S.C. Reverse of *Augustus.*
5. S.P.Q.R.P.P. OB. CIVES SERVATOS. Reverse of *Caligula.*
6. Reverse of *Tiberius.*
7. FIDES PVBLICA. Reverse of *Titus.*
8. PRAETOR RECEPT. Reverse of *Claudius.*
9. FECVNDITAS. S.C. Reverse of *Julia Augusta.*
10. NERO CLAV. CAESAR. IMP. ET OCTAVIA. AVGVST. F. Reverse of *Claudius.*
11. ORIENS AVG. Reverse of *Aurelian.*
12. Reverse of *Commodus.*
13. GLORIA EXERCITVS. E.S.I.S. } Reverse of
14. PRINCIPI IVVENTUTIS. S.C. } *Constantine.*
15. M. CATO. L. VETTIACVS. II. VIR. LEG. IV. LEG. VI. LEG. X. C.C.A. Reverse of *Tiberius.*
16. TR. P. VII. IMP. III. COS. V. P.P. S.C. Reverse of *Trajan.*
17. TR. POT. V. IMP. III. COS. II. S.C. Reverse of *Lucius Verus.*
18. PAX AVG. S.C. Reverse of *Vespasian.*
19. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P. S.C. DE GERMANIS. Reverse of *Marcus Aurelius.*
20. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P. S.C. DE SARMATIS. Reverse of *Marcus Aurelius.*
21. Reverse of *Trajan.*
22. TR. POT. XIIII. P.P. COS. II. Reverse of *M. Aurelius.*
23. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. coin'd under *Tiberius.*
24. COS. IIII. S.C. Reverse of *Antoninus Pius.*

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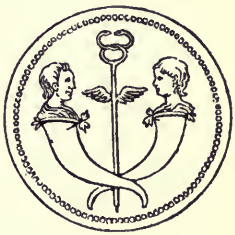

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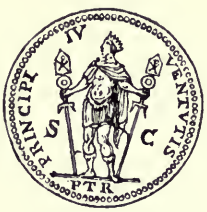

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THE

THIRD SERIES.

The Third Series.

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2. AFRICA. S.C. Reverse of *Septimius Severus.*
3. AFRICA. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
4. AEGIPTOS. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
5. MAVRETANIA. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
6. HISPANIA. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
7. ADVENTVI AVG. GALLIAE. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
8. ITALIA. S.C. Reverse of *Marcus Antoninus.*
9. ROMA. S.C. Reverse of *Nero.*
10. RESTITVTORI ACHAIAE. Reverse of *Adrian.*
11. BRITANNIA. Reverse of *Antoninus Pius.*
12. RESTITVTORI SICILIAE. S.C. Reverse of *Adrian.*
13. IVDEA CAPTA. S.C.
14. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. } Reverse of *Vespasian.*
15. PARTHIA. S.C. COS. II. Reverse of *Antoninus Pius.*
16. ANTIOCHIA.
17. ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝΚ. CMYPN. ΣΤΡ. Τ. ΦΑΒ. ΑΛ. ΑΠΟΛΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ. Reverse of *Marcus Aurelius.*
18. ARAB. ADQ. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI S.C. Reverse of *Trajan.*

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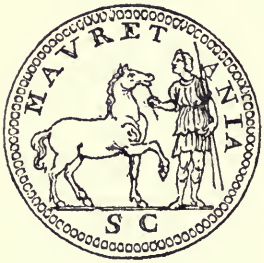

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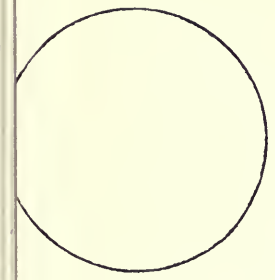

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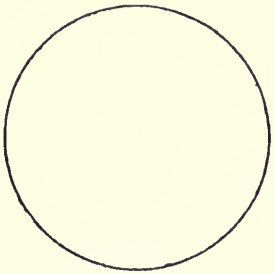

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Text : from Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721). *Of the Christian Religion* had not been published previously.

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

SECTION I.

I. *General division of the following discourse, with regard to* Pagan *and* Jewish *Authors, who mention particulars relating to our Saviour.*
II. *Not probable that any such should be mentioned by* Pagan *writers who lived at the same time, from the nature of such transactions.*
III. *Especially when related by the* Jews :
IV. *And heard at a distance by those who pretended to as great miracles as their own.*
V. *Besides that, no* Pagan *writers of that age lived in* Judæa *or its Confines.*
VI. *And because many books of that age are lost.*
VII. *An instance of one record proved to be authentick.*
VIII. *A second record of probable, though not undoubted, authority.*

I. THAT I may lay before you a full state of the subject under our consideration, and methodize the several particulars that I touched upon in discourse with you ; I shall first take notice of such *Pagan* Authors, as have given their testimony to the history of our Saviour ; reduce these Authors under their respective classes, and shew what

authority their testimonies carry with them. Secondly, I shall take notice of *Jewish* Authors in the same light.

II. There are many reasons, why you should not expect that matters of such a wonderful nature should be taken notice of by those eminent *Pagan* writers, who were contemporaries with *Jesus Christ*, or by those who lived before his Disciples had personally appeared among them, and ascertained the report which had gone abroad concerning a life so full of miracles.

Supposing such things had happened at this day in *Switzerland*, or among the *Grisons*, who make a greater figure in *Europe* than *Judæa* did in the *Roman* Empire, would they be immediately believed by those who live at a great distance from them? or would any certain account of them be transmitted into foreign countries, within so short a space of time as that of our Saviour's publick ministry? Such kinds of news, though never so true, seldom gain credit, till some time after they are transacted and exposed to the examination of the curious, who by laying together circumstances, attestations, and characters of those who are concerned in them, either receive, or reject what at first none but eye-witnesses could absolutely believe or disbelieve. In a case of this sort, it was natural for men of sense and learning to treat the whole account as fabulous, or at farthest to suspend their belief of it, until all things stood together in their full light.

III. Besides, the *Jews* were branded not only for superstitions different from all the religions of the *Pagan* world, but in a particular manner ridiculed for being a credulous people; so that whatever reports of such a nature came out of that country, were looked upon by the heathen world as false, frivolous, and improbable.

IV. We may further observe that the ordinary practice of Magic in those times, with the many pretended Prodigies, Divinations, Apparitions, and local Miracles among the Heathens, made them less attentive to such news from *Judæa*, till they had time to consider the nature, the occasion, and the end of our Saviour's miracles, and were awakened by many surprizing events to allow them any consideration at all.

V. We are indeed told by St. *Matthew*, that the fame of our Saviour, during his life, went throughout all *Syria*, and that there followed him great multitudes of people from *Galilee*, *Judæa*, *Decapolis*, *Idumæa*, from beyond *Jordan*, and from *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Now had there been any historians of those times and places, we might have expected to have seen in them some account of those wonderful transactions in *Judæa*; but there is not any single Author extant, in any kind, of that age, in any of those countries.

VI. How many books have perished in which possibly there might have been mention of our Saviour? Look among the *Romans*, how few of their writings are come down to our times? In the space of two hundred years from our Saviour's birth, when there was such a multitude of writers in all kinds, how small is the number of Authors that have made their way to the present age?

VII. One authentick Record, and that the most authentick heathen Record, we are pretty sure is lost. I mean the account sent by the Governor of *Judæa*, under whom our Saviour was judged, condemned, and crucified. It was the custom in the *Roman* Empire, as it is to this day in all the governments of the world, for the præfects and vice-roys of distant provinces to transmit to their Soveraign a summary relation of every thing remarkable in their administration. That *Pontius Pilate*, in his account, would have touched on so extraordinary an event in *Judæa*, is not to be doubted; and that he actually did, we learn from *Justin Martyr*, who lived about a hundred years after our Saviour's death, resided, made Converts, and suffered martyrdom at *Rome*, where he was engaged with Philosophers, and in a particular manner with *Crescens* the *Cynick*, who could easily have detected, and would not fail to have exposed him, had he quoted a Record not in being, or made any false citation out of it. Would the great Apologist have challenged *Crescens* to dispute the cause of Christianity with him before the *Roman* Senate, had he forged such an evidence? or would *Crescens* have refused the challenge, could he have triumphed over him in the detection of such a forgery? To which we must add, that the Apology, which appeals to this Record, was

presented to a learned Emperor, and to the whole body of the *Roman* Senate. This father in his apology, speaking of the death and suffering of our Saviour, refers the Emperor for the truth of what he says to the acts of *Pontius Pilate*, which I have here mentioned. *Tertullian*, who wrote his Apology about fifty years after *Justin*, doubtless referred to the same Record, when he tells the Governor of *Rome*, that the Emperor *Tiberius* having received an account out of *Palestine* in *Syria* of the Divine person, who had appeared in that country, paid him a particular regard, and threatned to punish any who should accuse the christians; nay, that the Emperor would have adopted him among the Deities whom they worshipped, had not the Senate refused to come into his proposal. *Tertullian*, who gives us this history, was not only one of the most learned men of his age, but what adds a greater weight to his authority in this case, was eminently skilful and well read in the laws of the *Roman* Empire. Nor can it be said, that *Tertullian* grounded his quotation upon the authority of *Justin Martyr*, because we find he mixes it with matters of fact which are not related by that Author. *Eusebius* mentions the same ancient Record, but as it was not extant in his time, I shall not insist upon his authority in this point. If it be objected that this particular is not mentioned in any *Roman* Historian, I shall use the same argument in a parallel case, and see whether it will carry any force with it. *Ulpian* the great *Roman* Lawyer gathered together all the Imperial Edicts that had been made against the christians. But did any one ever say that there had been no such Edicts, because they were not mentioned in the histories of those Emperors? Besides, who knows but this circumstance of *Tiberius* was mentioned in other historians that have been lost, though not to be found in any still extant? Has not *Suetonius* many particulars of this Emperor omitted by *Tacitus*, and *Herodian* many that are not so much as hinted at by either? As for the spurious *Acts* of *Pilate*, now extant, we know the occasion and time of their writing, and that had there not been a true and authentick Record of this nature, they would never have been forged.

VIII. The story of *Agbarus* King of *Edessa*, relating to

the letter which he sent to our Saviour, and to that which he received from him, is a record of great authority; and though I will not insist upon it, may venture to say, that had we such an evidence for any fact in *Pagan* history, an Author would be thought very unreasonable who should reject it. I believe you will be of my opinion if you will peruse, with other Authors, who have appeared in vindication of these letters as genuine, the additional arguments which have been made use of by the late famous and learned Dr. *Grabe*, in the second volume of his *Spicilegium*.

SECTION II.

I. *What facts in the history of our Saviour might be taken notice of by* Pagan *Authors.*
II. *What particular facts are taken notice of, and by what* Pagan *Authors.*
III. *How* Celsus *represented our Saviour's miracles.*
IV. *The same representation made of them by other unbelievers, and proved unreasonable.*
V. *What facts in our Saviour's history not to be expected from* Pagan *writers.*

I. WE now come to consider what undoubted authorities are extant among *Pagan* writers; and here we must premise, that some parts of our Saviour's history may be reasonably expected from *Pagans*. I mean such parts as might be known to those who lived at a distance from *Judæa*, as well as to those who were the followers and eye-witnesses of *Christ*.

II. Such particulars are most of these which follow, and which are all attested by some one or other of those heathen Authors, who lived in or near the age of our Saviour and his disciples. *That* Augustus Cæsar *had ordered the whole empire to be censed or taxed*, which brought our Saviour's reputed parents to *Bethlehem:* This is mentioned by several *Roman* historians, as *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion*. *That*

a great light, or a new star appeared in the east, which directed the wise men to our Saviour : This is recorded by *Chalcidius. That* Herod, *the King of* Palestine, *so often mentioned in the* Roman *history, made a great slaughter of innocent children,* being so jealous of his successor, that he put to death his own sons on that account : This character of him is given by several historians, and this cruel fact mentioned by *Macrobius,* a heathen Author, who tells it as a known thing, without any mark or doubt upon it. *That our Saviour had been in* Egypt : This *Celsus,* though he raises a monstrous story upon it, is so far from denying, that he tells us our Saviour learned the arts of magic in that country. *That* Pontius Pilate *was Governor of* Judæa, *that our Saviour was brought in judgment before him, and by him condemned and crucified :* This is recorded by *Tacitus. That many miraculous cures and works out of the ordinary course of nature were wrought by him :* This is confessed by *Julian* the Apostate, *Porphyry,* and *Hierocles,* all of them not only *Pagans,* but professed enemies and persecutors of Christianity. *That our Saviour foretold several things which came to pass according to his predictions :* This was attested by *Phlegon* in his annals, as we are assured by the learned *Origen* against *Celsus. That at the time when our Saviour died, there was a miraculous darkness and a great earthquake :* This is recorded by the same *Phlegon* the *Trallian,* who was likewise a *Pagan* and Freeman to *Adrian* the Emperor. We may here observe, that a native of *Trallium,* which was not situate at so great a distance from *Palestine,* might very probably be informed of such remarkable events as had passed among the *Jews* in the age immediately preceding his own times, since several of his countrymen with whom he had conversed, might have received a confused report of our Saviour before his crucifixion, and probably lived within the Shake of the earthquake, and the Shadow of the eclipse, which are recorded by this Author. *That* Christ *was worshipped as a God among the Christians ; that they would rather suffer death than blaspheme him ; that they received a sacrament, and by it entered into a vow of abstaining from sin and wickedness,* conformable to the advice given by St. *Paul ; that they had private assemblies of worship, and used to join together in Hymns :* This is the account which *Pliny*

the younger gives of Christianity in his days, about seventy years after the death of *Christ*, and which agrees in all its circumstances with the accounts we have in holy writ, of the first state of Christianity after the crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour. *That St.* Peter, *whose miracles are many of them recorded in holy writ, did many wonderful works*, is owned by *Julian* the apostate, who therefore represents him as a great Magician, and one who had in his possession a book of magical secrets left him by our Saviour. *That the devils or evil spirits were subject to them*, we may learn from *Porphyry*, who objects to Christianity, that since *Jesus* had begun to be worshipped, *Æsculapius* and the rest of the gods did no more converse with men. Nay, *Celsus* himself affirms the same thing in effect, when he says, that the power which seemed to reside in Christians, proceeded from the use of certain names, and the invocation of certain dæmons. *Origen* remarks on this passage, that the Author doubtless hints at those Christians who put to flight evil spirits, and healed those who were possessed with them ; a fact which had been often seen, and which he himself had seen, as he declares in another part of his discourse against *Celsus*. But at the same time he assures us, that this miraculous power was exerted by the use of no other name but that of *Jesus*, to which were added several passages in his history, but nothing like any invocation to *Dæmons*.

III. *Celsus* was so hard set with the report of our Saviour's miracles, and the confident attestations concerning him, that though he often intimates he did not believe them to be true, yet knowing he might be silenced in such an answer, provides himself with another retreat, when beaten out of this ; namely, that our Saviour was a magician. Thus he compares the feeding of so many thousands at two different times with a few loaves and fishes, to the magical feasts of those *Egyptian* impostors, who would present their spectators with visionary entertainments that had in them neither substance not reality : which, by the way, is to suppose, that a hungry and fainting multitude were filled by an apparition, or strengthned and refreshed with shadows. He knew very well that there were so many witnesses and actors, if I may call them such, in these two miracles, that it was impossible

to refute such multitudes, who had doubtless sufficiently spread the fame of them, and was therefore in this place forced to resort to the other solution, that it was done by magic. It was not enough to say that a miracle which appeared to so many thousand eye-witnesses was a forgery of *Christ*'s disciples, and therefore supposing them to be eye-witnesses, he endeavours to shew how they might be deceived.

IV. The unconverted heathens, who were pressed by the many authorities that confirmed our Saviour's miracles, as well as the unbelieving *Jews*, who had actually seen them, were driven to account for them after the same manner: For, to work by magic in the heathen way of speaking, was in the language of the *Jews* to cast out devils by *Beelzebub* the Prince of the devils. Our Saviour, who knew that unbelievers in all ages would put this perverse interpretation on his miracles, has branded the malignity of those men, who contrary to the dictates of their own hearts started such an unreasonable objection, as a blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and declared not only the guilt, but the punishment of so black a crime. At the same time he condescended to shew the vanity and emptiness of this objection against his miracles, by representing that they evidently tended to the destruction of those powers, to whose assistance the enemies of his doctrine then ascribed them. An argument, which, if duly weighed, renders the objection so very frivolous and groundless, that we may venture to call it even blasphemy against common sense. Would Magic endeavour to draw off the minds of men from the worship which was paid to stocks and stones, to give them an abhorrence of those evil spirits who rejoiced in the most cruel sacrifices, and in offerings of the greatest impurity; and in short to call upon mankind to exert their whole strength in the love and adoration of that one Being, from whom they derived their existence, and on whom only they were taught to depend every moment for the happiness and continuance of it? Was it the business of magic to humanize our natures with compassion, forgiveness, and all the instances of the most extensive charity? Would evil spirits contribute to make men sober, chaste, and temperate, and in a word to pro-

duce that reformation, which was wrought in the moral world by those doctrines of our Saviour, that received their sanction from his miracles? Nor is it possible to imagine, that evil spirits would enter into a combination with our Saviour to cut off all their correspondence and intercourse with mankind, and to prevent any for the future from addicting themselves to those rites and ceremonies, which had done them so much honour. We see the early effect which Christianity had on the minds of men in this particular, by that number of books, which were filled with the secrets of magic, and made a sacrifice to Christianity by the converts mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apostles. We have likewise an eminent instance of the inconsistency of our Religion with magic, in the history of the famous *Aquila*. This person, who was a kinsman of the Emperor *Trajan*, and likewise a man of great learning, notwithstanding he had embraced Christianity, could not be brought off from the studies of magic, by the repeated admonitions of his fellow-christians: so that at length they expelled him their society, as rather chusing to lose the reputation of so considerable a Proselyte, than communicate with one who dealt in such dark and infernal practices. Besides we may observe, that all the favourers of magic were the most profest and bitter enemies to the christian religion. Not to mention *Simon Magus* and many others, I shall only take notice of those two great persecutors of christianity, the Emperors *Adrian* and *Julian* the Apostate, both of them initiated in the mysteries of divination, and skilled in all the depths of magic. I shall only add, that evil spirits cannot be supposed to have concurred in the establishment of a religion, which triumphed over them, drove them out of the places they possest, and divested them of their influence on mankind; nor would I mention this particular, though it be unanimously reported by all the ancient christian Authors: did it not appear from the authorities above-cited, that this was a fact confest by heathens themselves.

V. We now see what a multitude of *Pagan* testimonies may be produced for all those remarkable passages, which might have been expected from them: and indeed of several, that, I believe, do more than answer your expecta-

tion, as they were not subjects in their own nature so exposed to publick notoriety. It cannot be expected they should mention particulars, which were transacted amongst the Disciples only, or among some few even of the Disciples themselves; such as the transfiguration, the agony in the garden, the appearance of *Christ* after his resurrection, and others of the like nature. It was impossible for a heathen Author to relate these things; because if he had believed them, he would no longer have been a heathen, and by that means his testimony would not have been thought of so much validity. Besides, his very report of facts so favourable to Christianity would have prompted men to say that he was probably tainted with their doctrine. We have a parallel case in *Hecatæus*, a famous *Greek* Historian, who had several passages in his book conformable to the history of the *Jewish* writers, which when quoted by *Josephus*, as a confirmation of the *Jewish* history, when his heathen adversaries could give no other answer to it, they would need suppose that *Hecatæus* was a *Jew* in his heart; though they had no other reason for it, but because his history gave greater authority to the *Jewish* than the *Egyptian* Records.

SECTION III.

I. *Introduction to a second list of* Pagan *Authors, who give testimony to our Saviour.*

II. *A passage concerning our Saviour, from a learned* Athenian.

III. *His conversion from* Paganism *to Christianity makes his evidence stronger than if he had continued a* Pagan.

IV. *Of another* Athenian *Philosopher converted to Christianity.*

V. *Why their conversion, instead of weakening, strengthens their evidence in defence of Christianity.*

VI. *Their belief in our Saviour's history founded at first upon the principles of historical faith.*
VII. *Their testimonies extended to all the particulars of our Saviour's history,*
VIII. *As related by the four Evangelists.*

I. TO this list of heathen writers, who make mention of our Saviour, or touch upon any particulars of his life, I shall add those Authors who were at first heathens, and afterwards converted to Christianity; upon which account, as I shall here shew, their testimonies are to be looked upon as the more authentick. And in this list of evidences, I shall confine my self to such learned *Pagans* as came over to Christianity in the three first centuries, because those were the times in which men had the best means of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history, and because among the great number of Philosophers who came in afterwards, under the reigns of christian Emperors, there might be several who did it partly out of worldly motives.

II. Let us now suppose, that a learned heathen writer who lived within 60 years of our Saviour's crucifixion, after having shewn that false miracles were generally wrought in obscurity, and before few or no witnesses, speaking of those which were wrought by our Saviour, has the following passage. "But his works were always "seen, because they were true, they were seen by those who "were healed, and by those who were raised from the "dead. Nay these persons who were thus healed, and "raised, were seen not only at the time of there being "healed, and raised, but long afterwards. Nay they were "seen not only all the while our Saviour was upon earth, "but survived after his departure out of this world, nay "some of them were living in our days.

III. I dare say you would look upon this as a glorious attestation for the cause of Christianity, had it come from the hand of a famous *Athenian* Philosopher. These forementioned words however are actually the words of one who lived about sixty Years after our Saviour's crucifixion, and was a famous Philosopher in *Athens*: but it will be said, he was a convert to Christianity. Now

consider this matter impartially, and see if his testimony is not much more valid for that reason. Had he continued a *Pagan* Philosopher, would not the world have said that he was not sincere in what he writ, or did not believe it; for, if so, would not they have told us he would have embraced Christianity? This was indeed the case of this excellent man: he had so thoroughly examined the truth of our Saviour's history, and the excellency of that religion which he taught, and was so entirely convinced of both, that he became a Proselyte, and died a Martyr.

IV. *Aristides* was an *Athenian* Philosopher, at the same time, famed for his learning and wisdom, but converted to Christianity. As it cannot be questioned that he perused and approved the apology of *Quadratus*, in which is the passage just now cited, he joined with him in an apology of his own, to the same Emperor, on the same subject. This apology, tho' now lost, was extant in the time of *Ado Viennensis*, *A.D.* 870, and highly esteemed by the most learned *Athenians*, as that Author witnesses. It must have contained great arguments for the truth of our Saviour's history, because in it he asserted the divinity of our Saviour, which could not but engage him in the proof of his miracles.

V. I do allow that, generally speaking, a man is not so acceptable and unquestioned an evidence in facts, which make for the advancement of his own party. But we must consider that, in the case before us, the persons, to whom we appeal, were of an opposite party, till they were persuaded of the truth of those very facts, which they report. They bear evidence to a history in defence of Christianity, the truth of which history was their motive to embrace Christianity. They attest facts which they had heard while they were yet heathens, and had they not found reason to believe them, they would still have continued heathens, and have made no mention of them in their writings.

VI. When a man is born under christian Parents, and trained up in the profession of that religion from a child, he generally guides himself by the rules of *Christian Faith* in believing what is delivered by the Evangelists; but the learned *Pagans* of antiquity, before they became Christians, were only guided by the common rules of *Historical Faith*:

That is, they examined the nature of the evidence which was to be met with in common fame, tradition, and the writings of those persons who related them, together with the number, concurrence, veracity, and private characters of those persons; and being convinced upon all accounts that they had the same reason to believe the history of our Saviour, as that of any other person to which they themselves were not actually eye-witnesses, they were bound by all the rules of historical faith, and of right reason, to give credit to this history. This they did accordingly, and in consequence of it published the same truths themselves, suffered many afflictions, and very often death it self, in the assertion of them. When I say, that an historical belief of the acts of our Saviour induced these learned *Pagans* to embrace his doctrine, I do not deny that there were many other motives, which conduced to it, as the excellency of his precepts, the fulfilling of prophecies, the miracles of his Disciples, the irreproachable lives and magnanimous sufferings of their followers, with other considerations of the same nature: but whatever other collateral arguments wrought more or less with Philosophers of that age, it is certain that a belief in the history of our Saviour was one motive with every new convert, and that upon which all others turned, as being the very basis and foundation of Christianity.

VII. To this I must further add, that as we have already seen many particular facts which are recorded in holy writ, attested by particular *Pagan* Authors: the testimony of those I am now going to produce, extends to the whole history of our Saviour, and to that continued series of actions, which are related of him and his Disciples in the books of the *New Testament.*

VIII. This evidently appears from their quotations out of the Evangelists, for the confirmation of any doctrine or account of our blessed Saviour. Nay a learned man of our nation, who examined the writings of the most ancient Fathers in another view, refers to several passages in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, by which he plainly shows that each of these early writers ascribe to the four Evangelists by name their respective histories; so that there is not the least room

for doubting of their belief in the history of our Saviour, as recorded in the Gospels. I shall only add, that three of the five Fathers here mentioned, and probably four, were *Pagans* converted to Christianity, as they were all of them very inquisitive and deep in the knowledge of heathen learning and philosophy.

SECTION IV.

I. *Character of the times in which the Christian religion was propagated:*
II. *And of many who embraced it.*
III. *Three eminent and early instances.*
IV. *Multitudes of learned men who came over to it.*
V. *Belief in our Saviour's history, the first motive to their conversion.*
VI. *The names of several* Pagan *Philosophers, who were Christian converts.*

I. IT happened very providentially to the honour of the Christian religion, that it did not take its rise in the dark illiterate ages of the world, but at a time when arts and sciences were at their height, and when there were men who made it the business of their lives to search after truth, and sift the several opinions of Philosophers and wise men, concerning the duty, the end, and chief happiness of reasonable creatures.

II. Several of these therefore, when they had informed themselves of our Saviour's history, and examined with unprejudiced minds the doctrines and manners of his disciples and followers, were so struck and convinced, that they professed themselves of that sect; notwithstanding, by this profession in that juncture of time, they bid farewel to all the pleasures of this life, renounced all the views of ambition, engaged in an uninterrupted course of severities, and exposed themselves to publick hatred and contempt, to sufferings of all kinds, and to death itself.

III. Of this sort we may reckon those three early converts to Christianity, who each of them was a member of a Senate famous for its wisdom and learning. *Joseph* the *Arimathean* was of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, *Dionysius* of the *Athenian Areopagus*, and *Flavius Clemens* of the *Roman* Senate; nay at the time of his death Consul of *Rome*. These three were so thoroughly satisfied of the truth of the Christian religion, that the first of them, according to all the reports of antiquity, died a martyr for it; as did the second, unless we disbelieve *Aristides*, his fellow-citizen and contemporary; and the third, as we are informed both by *Roman* and Christian Authors.

IV. Among those innumerable multitudes, who in most of the known nations of the world came over to Christianity at its first appearance, we may be sure there were great numbers of wise and learned men, beside those whose names are in the Christian records, who without doubt took care to examine the truth of our Saviour's history, before they would leave the religion of their country and of their forefathers, for the sake of one that would not only cut them off from the allurements of this world, but subject them to every thing terrible or disagreeable in it. *Tertullian* tells the *Roman* Governors, that their corporations, councils, armies, tribes, companies, the palace, senate, and courts of judicature were filled with Christians; as *Arnobius* asserts, that men of the finest parts and learning, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians, Philosophers, despising the sentiments they had been once fond of, took up their rest in the Christian religion.

V. Who can imagine that men of this character did not thoroughly inform themselves of the history of that person, whose doctrines they embraced? for however consonant to reason his precepts appeared, how good soever were the effects which they produced in the world, nothing could have tempted men to acknowledge him as their God and Saviour, but their being firmly persuaded of the miracles he wrought, and the many attestations of his divine mission, which were to be met with in the history of his life. This was the ground-work of the Christian religion, and, if this failed, the whole superstructure sunk

with it. This point therefore, of the truth of our Saviour's history, as recorded by the Evangelists, is every where taken for granted in the writings of those, who from *Pagan* Philosophers became Christian Authors, and who, by reason of their conversion, are to be looked upon as of the strongest collateral testimony for the truth of what is delivered concerning our Saviour.

VI. Besides innumerable Authors that are lost, we have the undoubted names, works, or fragments of several *Pagan* Philosophers, which shew them to have been as learned as any unconverted heathen Authors of the age in which they lived. If we look into the greatest nurseries of learning in those ages of the world, we find in *Athens*, *Dionysius*, *Quadratus*, *Aristides*, *Athenagoras*; and in *Alexandria*, *Dionysius*, *Clemens*, *Ammonius*, *Arnobius*, and *Anatolius*, to whom we may add *Origen*; for though his father was a Christian martyr, he became, without all controversy, the most learned and able Philosopher of his age, by his education at *Alexandria*, in that famous seminary of arts and sciences.

SECTION V.

I. *The learned* Pagans *had means and opportunities of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history;*
II. *From the proceedings,*
III. *The characters, sufferings,*
IV. *And miracles of the persons who published it.*
V. *How these first Apostles perpetuated their tradition, by ordaining persons to succeed them.*
VI. *How their successors in the three first centuries preserved their tradition.*
VII. *That five generations might derive this tradition from* Christ, *to the end of the third century.*
VIII. *Four eminent Christians that delivered it down successively to the year of our Lord* 254.

IX. *The faith of the four above-mentioned persons, the same with that of the Churches of the East, of the West, and of* Egypt.

X. *Another person added to them, who brings us to the year* 343, *and that many other lists might be added in as direct and short a succession.*

XI. *Why the tradition of the three first centuries, more authentick than that of any other age, proved from the conversation of the primitive Christians.*

XII. *From the manner of initiating men into their religion.*

XIII. *From the correspondence betweeen the Churches.*

XIV. *From the long lives of several of* Christ's *Disciples, of which two instances.*

I. IT now therefore only remains to consider, whether these learned men had means and opportunities of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history; for unless this point can be made out, their testimonies will appear invalid, and their enquiries ineffectual.

II. As to this point, we must consider, that many thousands had seen the transactions of our Saviour in *Judæa*, and that many hundred thousands had received an account of them from the mouths of those who were actually eye-witnesses. I shall only mention among these eye-witnesses the twelve Apostles, to whom we must add St. *Paul*, who had a particular call to this high office, though many other disciples and followers of *Christ* had also their share in the publishing this wonderful history. We learn from the ancient records of Christianity, that many of the Apostles and Disciples made it the express business of their lives, travelled into the remotest parts of the world, and in all places gathered multitudes about them, to acquaint them with the history and doctrines of their crucified Master. And indeed, were all Christian records of these proceedings entirely lost, as many have been, the effect plainly evinces the truth of them; for how else during the Apostles lives could Christianity have spread itself with such an amazing progress through the several nations of the *Roman* empire? how could it fly like lightning, and carry conviction with it, from one end of the earth to the other?

III. Heathens therefore of every age, sex, and quality, born in the most different climates, and bred up under the most different institutions, when they saw men of plain sense, without the help of learning, armed with patience and courage, instead of wealth, pomp, or power, expressing in their lives those excellent doctrines of Morality, which they taught as delivered to them from our Saviour, averring that they had seen his miracles during his life, and conversed with him after his death; when, I say, they saw no suspicion of falshood, treachery, or worldly interest, in their behaviour and conversation, and that they submitted to the most ignominious and cruel deaths, rather than retract their testimony, or even be silent in matters which they were to publish by their Saviour's especial command, there was no reason to doubt of the veracity of those facts which they related, or of the Divine Mission in which they were employed.

IV. But even these motives to Faith in our Saviour would not have been sufficient to have brought about in so few years such an incredible number of conversions, had not the Apostles been able to exhibit still greater proofs of the truths which they taught. A few persons of an odious and despised country could not have filled the world with Believers, had they not shown undoubted credentials from the Divine person who sent them on such a message. Accordingly we are assured, that they were invested with the power of working miracles, which was the most short and the most convincing argument that could be produced, and the only one that was adapted to the reason of all mankind, to the capacities of the wise and ignorant, and could overcome every cavil and every prejudice. Who would not believe that our Saviour healed the sick, and raised the dead, when it was published by those who themselves often did the same miracles, in their presence, and in his name! Could any reasonable person imagine, that God Almighty would arm men with such powers to authorize a lye, and establish a religion in the world which was displeasing to him, or that evil spirits would lend them such an effectual assistance to beat down vice and idolatry?

V. When the Apostles had formed many assemblies in several parts of the *Pagan* world, who gave credit to the

glad tidings of the Gospel, that, upon their departure, the memory of what they had related might not perish, they appointed out of these new converts, men of the best sense, and of the most unblemished lives, to preside over these several assemblies, and to inculcate without ceasing what they had heard from the mouths of these eye-witnesses.

VI. Upon the death of any of those substitutes to the Apostles and Disciples of *Christ*, his place was filled up with some other person of eminence for his piety and learning, and generally a member of the same Church, who after his decease was followed by another in the same manner, by which means the succession was continued in an uninterrupted line. *Irenæus* informs us, that every church preserved a catalogue of its Bishops in the order that they succeeded one another, and (for an example) produces the catalogue of those who governed the Church of *Rome* in that character, which contains eight or nine persons, though but at a very small remove from the times of the Apostles.

Indeed the lists of Bishops, which are come down to us in other churches, are generally filled with greater numbers than one would expect. But the succession was quick in the three first centuries, because the Bishop very often ended in the Martyr: for when a persecution arose in any place, the first fury of it fell upon this Order of holy men, who abundantly testified by their Deaths and Sufferings that they did not undertake these offices out of any temporal views, that they were sincere and satisfied in the belief of what they taught, and that they firmly adhered to what they had received from the Apostles, as laying down their lives in the same hope, and upon the same principles. None can be supposed so utterly regardless of their own happiness as to expire in torment, and hazard their Eternity, to support any fables and inventions of their own, or any forgeries of their predecessors who had presided in the same church, and which might have been easily detected by the tradition of that particular church, as well as by the concurring testimony of others. To this purpose, I think it is very remarkable, that there was not a single Martyr among those many Hereticks, who

disagreed with the Apostolical church, and introduced several wild and absurd notions into the doctrines of Christianity. They durst not stake their present and future happiness on their own chimerical imaginations, and did not only shun persecution, but affirmed that it was unnecessary for their followers to bear their religion through such fiery tryals.

VII. We may fairly reckon, that this first age of Apostles and Disciples, with that second generation of many who were their immediate converts, extended it self to the middle of the second Century, and that several of the third generation from these last mentioned, which was but the fifth from *Christ*, continued to the end of the third Century. Did we know the ages and numbers of the members in every particular church, which was planted by the Apostles, I doubt not but in most of them there might be found five persons who in a continued series would reach through these three centuries of years, that is till the 265th from the death of our Saviour.

VIII. Among the accounts of those very few out of innumerable multitudes, who had embraced Christianity, I shall single out four persons eminent for their lives, their writings, and their sufferings, that were successively contemporaries, and bring us down as far as to the year of our Lord 254. St. *John*, who was the beloved Disciple, and conversed the most intimately with our Saviour, lived till *Anno Dom.* 100. *Polycarp*, who was the Disciple of St. *John*, and had conversed with others of the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord, lived till *Anno Dom.* 167, though his life was shortened by martyrdom. *Irenæus*, who was the Disciple of *Polycarp*, and had conversed with many of the immediate Disciples of the Apostles, lived, at the lowest computation of his age, till the year 202, when he was likewise cut off by martyrdom; in which year the great *Origen* was appointed Regent of the Catechetick school in *Alexandria*, and as he was the miracle of that age, for industry, learning, and philosophy, he was looked upon as the champion of Christianity, till the year 254, when, if he did not suffer martyrdom, as some think he did, he was certainly actuated by the spirit of it, as appears in the whole course of his life and writings; nay, he had often

been put to the torture, and had undergone tryals worse than death. As he conversed with the most eminent Christians of his time in *Egypt*, and in the East, brought over multitudes both from heresy and heathenism, and left behind him several Disciples of great fame and learning, there is no question but there were considerable numbers of those who knew him, and had been his hearers, scholars, or proselytes, that lived till the end of the third century, and to the reign of *Constantine* the Great.

IX. It is evident to those, who read the lives and writings of *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, and *Origen*, that these three Fathers believed the accounts which are given of our Saviour in the four Evangelists, and had undoubted arguments that not only St. *John*, but many others of our Saviour's disciples, published the same accounts of him. To which we must subjoin this further remark, that what was believed by these Fathers on this subject, was likewise the belief of the main body of Christians in those successive ages when they flourished; since *Polycarp* cannot but be looked upon, if we consider the respect that was paid him, as the representative of the Eastern Churches in this particular, *Irenæus* of the Western upon the same account, and *Origen* of those established in *Egypt*.

X. To these I might add *Paul* the famous hermite, who retired from the *Decian* persecution five or six years before *Origen*'s death, and lived till the year 343. I have only discovered one of those channels by which the history of our Saviour might be conveyed pure and unadulterated, through those several ages that produced those *Pagan* Philosophers, whose testimonies I make use of for the truth of our Saviour's history. Some or other of these Philosophers came into the Christian faith during its infancy, in the several periods of these three first centuries, when they had such means of informing themselves in all the particulars of our Saviour's history. I must further add, that though I have here only chosen this single link of martyrs, I might find out others among those names which are still extant, that delivered down this account of our Saviour in a successive tradition, till the whole *Roman* empire became Christian; as there is no question but numberless series of witnesses might follow one another in

the same order, and in as short a chain, and that perhaps in every single Church, had the names and ages of the most eminent primitive Christians been transmitted to us with the like certainty.

XI. But to give this consideration more force, we must take notice, that the tradition of the first ages of Christianity had several circumstances peculiar to it, which made it more authentick than any other tradition in any other age of the world. The Christians, who carried their religion through so many general and particular persecutions, were incessantly comforting and supporting one another, with the example and history of our Saviour and his Apostles. It was the subject not only of their solemn assemblies, but of their private visits and conversations. *Our virgins*, says *Tatian*, who lived in the second century, *discourse over their distaffs on divine subjects.* Indeed, when religion was woven into the civil government, and flourished under the protection of the Emperors, men's thoughts and discourses were, as they are now, full of secular affairs; but in the three first centuries of Christianity, men, who embraced this religion, had given up all their interests in this world, and lived in a perpetual preparation for the next, as not knowing how soon they might be called to it: so that they had little else to talk of but the life and doctrines of that divine person, which was their hope, their encouragement, and their glory. We cannot therefore imagine, that there was a single person arrived at any degree of age or consideration, who had not heard and repeated above a thousand times in his life, all the particulars of our Saviour's birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension.

XII. Especially if we consider, that they could not then be received as Christians, till they had undergone several examinations. Persons of riper years, who flocked daily into the Church during the three first centuries, were obliged to pass through many repeated instructions, and give a strict account of their proficiency, before they were admitted to Baptism. And as for those who were born of Christian parents, and had been baptised in their infancy, they were with the like care prepared and disciplined for confirmation, which they could not arrive at, till they

were found upon examination to have made a sufficient progress in the knowledge of Christianity.

XIII. We must further observe, that there was not only in those times this religious conversation among private Christians, but a constant correspondence between the Churches that were established by the Apostles or their successors, in the several parts of the world. If any new doctrine was started, or any fact reported of our Saviour, a strict enquiry was made among the Churches, especially those planted by the Apostles themselves, whether they had received any such doctrine or account of our Saviour, from the mouths of the Apostles, or the tradition of those Christians, who had preceded the present members of the Churches which were thus consulted. By this means, when any novelty was published, it was immediately detected and censured.

XIV. St. *John*, who lived so many years after our Saviour, was appealed to in these emergencies as the living Oracle of the Church; and as his oral testimony lasted the first century, many have observed that, by a particular providence of God, several of our Saviour's Disciples, and of the early converts of his religion, lived to a very great age, that they might personally convey the truth of the Gospel to those times, which were very remote from the first publication of it. Of these, besides St. *John*, we have a remarkable instance in *Simeon*, who was one of the seventy sent forth by our Saviour, to publish the Gospel before his crucifixion, and a near kinsman of the Lord. This venerable person, who had probably heard with his own ears our Saviour's prophecy of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, presided over the Church established in that city, during the time of its memorable siege, and drew his congregation out of those dreadful and unparallel'd calamities which befel his countrymen, by following the advice our Saviour had given, when they should see *Jerusalem* encompassed with armies, and the *Roman* standards, or abomination of desolation, set up. He lived till the year of our Lord 107, when he was martyred under the Emperor *Trajan*.

SECTION VI.

I. *The tradition of the Apostles secured by other excellent institutions;*
II. *But chiefly by the writings of the Evangelists.*
III. *The diligence of the Disciples and first Christian converts, to send abroad these writings.*
IV. *That the written account of our Saviour was the same with that delivered by tradition:*
V. *Proved from the reception of the Gospel by those Churches which were established before it was written;*
VI. *From the uniformity of what was believed in the several Churches;*
VII. *From a remarkable passage in* Irenæus.
VIII. *Records which are now lost, of use to the three first centuries, for confirming the history of our Saviour.*
IX. *Instances of such records.*

I. THUS far we see how the learned *Pagans* might apprize themselves from oral information of the particulars of our Saviour's history. They could hear, in every Church planted in every distant part of the earth, the account which was there received and preserved among them, of the history of our Saviour. They could learn the names and characters of those first missionaries that brought to them these accounts, and the miracles by which God Almighty attested their reports. But the Apostles and Disciples of *Christ*, to preserve the history of his life, and to secure their accounts of him from error and oblivion, did not only set aside certain persons for that purpose, as has been already shewn, but appropriated certain days to the commemoration of those facts which they had related concerning him. The first day of the week was in all its returns a perpetual memorial of his resurrection, as the devotional exercises adapted to *Friday* and *Saturday*, were to denote to all ages that he was crucified on the one of those days, and that he rested in the grave on the other.

You may apply the same remark to several of the annual festivals instituted by the Apostles themselves, or at furthest by their immediate Successors, in memory of the most important particulars in our Saviour's history; to which we must add the Sacraments instituted by our Lord himself, and many of those rites and ceremonies which obtained in the most early times of the Church. These are to be regarded as standing marks of such facts as were delivered by those, who were eye-witnesses to them, and which were contrived with great wisdom to last till time should be no more. These, without any other means, might have, in some measure, conveyed to posterity, the memory of several transactions in the history of our Saviour, as they were related by his Disciples. At least, the reason of these institutions, though they might be forgotten, and obscured by a long course of years, could not but be very well known by those who lived in the three first Centuries, and a means of informing the inquisitive *Pagans* in the truth of our Saviour's history, that being the view in which I am to consider them.

II. But least such a tradition, though guarded by so many expedients, should wear out by the length of time, the four Evangelists within about fifty, or, as *Theodoret* affirms, thirty years, after our Saviour's death, while the memory of his actions was fresh among them, consigned to writing that history, which for some years had been published only by the mouth of the Apostles and Disciples. The further consideration of these holy penmen will fall under another part of this discourse.

III. It will be sufficient to observe here, that in the age which succeeded the Apostles, many of their immediate Disciples sent or carried in person the books of the four Evangelists, which had been written by Apostles, or at least approved by them, to most of the Churches which they had planted in the different parts of the world. This was done with so much diligence, that when *Pantænus*, a man of great learning and piety, had travelled into *India* for the propagation of Christianity, about the year of our Lord 200, he found among that remote people the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, which upon his return from that country he brought with him to *Alexandria*. This Gospel is generally

supposed to have been left in those parts by St. *Bartholomew* the Apostle of the *Indies*, who probably carried it with him before the writings of the three other Evangelists were publish'd.

IV. That the history of our Saviour, as recorded by the Evangelists, was the same with that which had been before delivered by the Apostles and Disciples, will further appear in the prosecution of this discourse, and may be gathered from the following considerations.

V. Had these writings differed from the sermons of the first planters of Christianity, either in history or doctrine, there is no question but they would have been rejected by those Churches which they had already formed. But so consistent and uniform was the relation of the Apostles, that these histories appeared to be nothing else but their tradition and oral attestations made fixt and permanent. Thus was the fame of our Saviour, which in so few years had gone through the whole earth, confirmed and perpetuated by such records, as would preserve the traditionary account of him to after-ages; and rectifie it, if at any time, by passing through several generations, it might drop any part that was material, or contract any thing that was false or fictitious.

VI. Accordingly we find the same *Jesus Christ*, who was born of a Virgin, who had wrought many miracles in *Palestine*, who was crucified, rose again, and ascended into Heaven; I say, the same *Jesus Christ* had been preached, and was worshipped, in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Great-Britain*, in *Parthia*, *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Phrygia*, *Asia* and *Pamphilia*, in *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Afric*, and beyond *Cyrene*, *India* and *Persia*, and, in short, in all the islands and provinces that are visited by the rising or setting sun. The same account of our Saviour's life and doctrine was delivered by thousands of Preachers, and believed in thousands of places, who all as fast as it could be conveyed to them, received the same account in writing from the four Evangelists.

VII. *Irenæus* to this purpose very aptly remarks, that those barbarous nations, who in his time were not possest of the written gospels, and had only learned the history of our Saviour from those who had converted them to Chris-

tianity before the Gospels were written, had among them the same accounts of our Saviour, which are to be met with in the four Evangelists. An uncontestable proof of the harmony and concurrence between the holy scripture and the tradition of the Churches in those early times of Christianity.

VIII. Thus we see what opportunities the learned and inquisitive heathens had of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history, during the three first Centuries, especially as they lay nearer one than another to the fountain-head: beside which, there were many uncontroverted traditions, records of Christianity, and particular histories, that then threw light into these matters, but are now entirely lost, by which, at that time, any appearance of contradiction, or seeming difficulties, in the history of the Evangelists, were fully cleared up and explained: though we meet with fewer appearances of this nature in the history of our Saviour, as related by the four Evangelists, than in the accounts of any other person, published by such a number of different historians who lived at so great a distance from the present age.

IX. Among those records which are lost, and were of great use to the primitive Christians, is the letter to *Tiberius*, which I have already mentioned; that of *Marcus Aurelius*, which I shall take notice of hereafter; the writings of *Hegesippus*, who had drawn down the history of Christianity to his own time, which was not beyond the middle of the second Century; the genuine *Sibylline* oracles, which in the first ages of the Church were easily distinguished from the spurious; the records preserved in particular Churches, with many other of the same nature.

SECTION VII.

I. *The sight of miracles in those ages a further confirmation of* Pagan *Philosophers in the Christian faith.*
II. *The credibility of such miracles.*
III. *A particular instance.*
IV. *Martyrdom, why considered as a standing miracle.*
V. *Primitive Christians thought many of the Martyrs were supported by a miraculous power:*
VI. *Proved from the nature of their sufferings.*
VII. *How Martyrs further induced the* Pagans *to embrace Christianity.*

I. THERE were other means, which I find had a great influence on the learned of the three first Centuries, to create and confirm in them the belief of our blessed Saviour's history, which ought not to be passed over in silence. The first was, the opportunity they enjoyed of examining those miracles, which were on several occasions performed by Christians, and appeared in the Church, more or less, during these first ages of Christianity. These had great weight with the men I am now speaking of, who, from learned *Pagans*, became fathers of the Church; for they frequently boast of them in their writings, as attestations given by God himself to the truth of their religion.

II. At the same time, that these learned men declare how disingenuous, base and wicked it would be, how much beneath the dignity of Philosophy, and contrary to the precepts of Christianity, to utter falshoods or forgeries in the support of a cause, though never so just in it self, they confidently assert this miraculous power, which then subsisted in the Church, nay tell us that they themselves had been eye-witnesses of it at several times, and in several instances; nay appeal to the heathens themselves for the truth of several facts they relate, nay challenge them to be present at their assemblies, and satisfie themselves,

if they doubt of it; nay we find that *Pagan* Authors have in some instances confessed this miraculous power.

III. The letter of *Marcus Aurelius*, whose army was preserved by a refreshing shower, at the same time that his enemies were discomfited by a storm of lightning, and which the heathen historians themselves allow to have been supernatural and the effect of magic: I say, this letter, which ascribed this unexpected assistance to the prayers of the Christians, who then served in the army, would have been thought an unquestionable testimony of the miraculous power I am speaking of, had it been still preserved. It is sufficient for me in this place to take notice, that this was one of those miracles which had its influence on the learned Converts, because it is related by *Tertullian*, and the very letter appealed to. When these learned men saw sickness and frenzy cured, the dead raised, the oracles put to silence, the *Dæmons* and evil spirits forced to confess themselves no Gods, by persons who only made use of prayer and adjurations in the name of their crucified Saviour; how could they doubt of their Saviour's power on the like occasions, as represented to them by the traditions of the Church, and the writings of the Evangelists?

IV. Under this head, I cannot omit that which appears to me a standing miracle in the three first Centuries, I mean that amazing and supernatural courage or patience, which was shewn by innumerable multitudes of Martyrs, in those slow and painful torments that were inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the burning iron chair at *Lyons*, amid the insults and mockeries of a crouded Amphitheatre, and still keeping his seat; or stretched upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and breathing out his soul among the exquisite sufferings of such a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion, or blaspheme his Saviour. Such tryals seem to me above the strength of human nature, and able to over-bear duty, reason, faith, conviction, nay, and the most absolute certainty of a future state. Humanity, unassisted in an extraordinary manner, must have shaken off the present pressure, and have delivered it self out of such a dreadful distress, by any means that could have been suggested to it.

We can easily imagine, that many persons, in so good a cause, might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the stake, or the block: but to expire leisurely among the most exquisite tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a mental reservation, or an hypocrisy which was not without a possibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveness, has something in it, so far beyond the force and natural strength of mortals, that one cannot but think there was some miraculous power to support the sufferer.

V. We find the Church of *Smyrna*, in that admirable letter which gives an account of the death of *Polycarp* their beloved Bishop, mentioning the cruel torments of other early Martyrs for Christianity, are of opinion, that our Saviour stood by them in a vision, and personally conversed with them, to give them strength and comfort during the bitterness of their long continued agonies; and we have the story of a young man, who having suffered many tortures, escaped with life, and told his fellow-christians, that the pain of them had been rendred tolerable, by the presence of an Angel who stood by him, and wiped off the tears and sweat, which ran down his face whilst he lay under his sufferings. We are assured at least that the first Martyr for Christianity was encouraged in his last moments, by a vision of that divine person, for whom he suffered, and into whose presence he was then hastening.

VI. Let any man calmly lay his hand upon his heart, and after reading these terrible conflicts in which the ancient Martyrs and Confessors were engaged, when they passed through such new inventions and varieties of pain, as tired their tormentors; and ask himself, however zealous and sincere he is in his religion, whether under such acute and lingring tortures he could still have held fast his integrity, and have professed his faith to the last, without a supernatural assistance of some kind or other. For my part, when I consider that it was not an unaccountable obstinacy in a single man, or in any particular sett of men, in some extraordinary juncture; but that there were multitudes of each sex, of every age, of different countries and conditions, who for near 300 years together made this glorious confession of their faith, in the midst of tortures,

and in the hour of death: I must conclude, that they were either of another make than men are at present, or that they had such miraculous supports as were peculiar to those times of Christianity, when without them perhaps the very name of it might have been extinguished.

VII. It is certain, that the deaths and sufferings of the primitive Christians had a great share in the conversion of those learned *Pagans*, who lived in the ages of Persecution, which with some intervals and abatements lasted near 300 years after our Saviour. *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, and others, tell us, that this first of all alarmed their curiosity, roused their attention, and made them seriously inquisitive into the nature of that religion, which could endue the mind with so much strength, and overcome the fear of death, nay raise an earnest desire of it, though it appeared in all its terrors. This they found had not been effected by all the doctrines of those Philosophers, whom they had thoroughly studied, and who had been labouring at this great point. The sight of these dying and tormented Martyrs engaged them to search into the history and doctrines of him for whom they suffered. The more they searched, the more they were convinced; till their conviction grew so strong, that they themselves embraced the same truths, and either actually laid down their lives, or were always in a readiness to do it, rather than depart from them.

SECTION VIII.

I. *The completion of our Saviour's prophecies confirmed* Pagans *in their belief of the Gospel.*
II. Origen*'s observation on that of his Disciples being brought before Kings and Governours;*
III. *On their being persecuted for their religion;*
IV. *On their preaching the Gospel to all nations;*
V. *On the destruction of* Jerusalem, *and ruin of the* Jewish *oeconomy.*
VI. *These arguments strengthened by what has happened since* Origen*'s time.*

I. THE second of those extraordinary means, of great use to the learned and inquisitive *Pagans* of the three first Centuries, for evincing the truth of the history of our Saviour, was the completion of such prophecies as are recorded of him in the Evangelists. They could not indeed form any arguments from what he foretold, and was fulfilled during his life, because both the prophecy and the completion were over before they were published by the Evangelists; though, as *Origen* observes, what end could there be in forging some of these predictions, as that of St. *Peter*'s denying his master, and all his Disciples forsaking him in the greatest extremity, which reflects so much shame on the great Apostle, and on all his companions? Nothing but a strict adherence to truth, and to matters of fact, could have prompted the Evangelists to relate a circumstance so disadvantageous to their own reputation; as that Father has well observed.

II. But to pursue his reflections on this subject. There are predictions of our Saviour recorded by the Evangelists, which were not completed till after their deaths, and had no likelihood of being so, when they were pronounced by our blessed Saviour. Such was that wonderful notice he gave them, that they should be brought before Governours and Kings for his sake, for a testimony against them and the *Gentiles*, *Mat.* 10. 28. with the other like prophecies, by which he foretold that his Disciples were to be per-

secuted. Is there any other doctrine in the world, says this Father, whose followers are punished? Can the enemies of *Christ* say, that he knew his opinions were false and impious, and that therefore he might well conjecture and foretell what would be the treatment of those persons who should embrace them? Supposing his doctrines were really such, why should this be the consequence? what likelihood that men should be brought before Kings and Governours for opinions and tenets of any kind, when this never happened even to the *Epicureans*, who absolutely denied a Providence; nor to the *Peripateticks* themselves, who laughed at the prayers and sacrifices which were made to the Divinity? Are there any but the Christians who, according to this prediction of our Saviour, being brought before Kings and Governours for his sake, are pressed to their latest gasp of breath, by their respective judges, to renounce Christianity, and to procure their liberty and rest, by offering the same sacrifices, and taking the same oaths that others did?

III. Consider the time when our Saviour pronounced those words, Matt. 10. 32. *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.* Had you heard him speak after this manner, when as yet his Disciples were under no such tryals, you would certainly have said within your self, If these speeches of *Jesus* are true, and if, according to his prediction, Governors and Kings undertake to ruin and destroy those who shall profess themselves his Disciples, we will believe (not only that he is a Prophet) but that he has received power from God sufficient to preserve and propagate his religion; and that he would never talk in such a peremptory and discouraging manner, were he not assured that he was able to subdue the most powerful opposition, that could be made against the faith and doctrine which he taught.

IV. Who is not struck with admiration, when he represents to himself our Saviour at that time foretelling, that his Gospel should be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, or as St. *Origen* (who rather quotes the sense than the words) to serve for a conviction to Kings

and people, when at the same time he finds that his Gospel has accordingly been preached to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, to the learned and to the ignorant, and that there is no quality or condition of life able to exempt men from submitting to the doctrine of *Christ*? As for us, says this great Author, in another part of his book against *Celsus*, "When we see every day those events exactly accomplished "which our Saviour foretold at so great a distance: That "his Gospel is preached in all the world, *Matthew* 24. 14. "That his Disciples go and teach all nations, *Matthew* 28. 19. "And that those, who have received his doctrine, are "brought for his sake before Governors, and before Kings, "*Matthew* 10. 18. we are filled with admiration, and our "faith in him is confirmed more and more. What clearer "and stronger proofs can *Celsus* ask for the truth of what he "spoke?

V. *Origen* insists likewise with great strength on that wonderful prediction of our Saviour, concerning the destruction of *Jerusalem*, pronounced at a time, as he observes, when there was no likelihood nor appearance of it. This has been taken notice of and inculcated by so many others, that I shall refer you to what this Father has said on the subject in the first book against *Celsus*. And as to the accomplishment of this remarkable prophecy, shall only observe, that whoever reads the account given us by *Josephus*, without knowing his character, and compares it with what our Saviour foretold, would think the historian had been a Christian, and that he had nothing else in view but to adjust the event to the prediction.

VI. I cannot quit this head without taking notice, that *Origen* would still have triumphed more in the foregoing arguments, had he lived an age longer, to have seen the *Roman* Emperors, and all their Governors and provinces, submitting themselves to the Christian religion, and glorying in its profession, as so many Kings and Sovereigns still place their relation to *Christ* at the head of their titles.

How much greater confirmation of his faith would he have received, had he seen our Saviour's prophecy stand good in the destruction of the temple, and the dissolution of the *Jewish* œconomy, when *Jews* and *Pagans* united all their endeavours under *Julian* the Apostate, to baffle and

falsifie the prediction ? The great preparations that were made for re-building the temple, with the hurricane, earthquake, and eruptions of fire, that destroyed the work, and terrified those employed in the attempt from proceeding in it, are related by many historians of the same age, and the substance of the story testified both by *Pagan* and *Jewish* writers, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Zemath-David.* The learned *Chrysostome*, in a sermon against the *Jews*, tells them this fact was then fresh in the memories even of their young men, that it happened but twenty years ago, and that it was attested by all the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, where they might still see the marks of it in the rubbish of that work, from which the *Jews* desisted in so great a fright, and which even *Julian* had not the courage to carry on. This fact, which is in it self so miraculous, and so indisputable, brought over many of the *Jews* to Christianity ; and shows us, that after our Saviour's prophecy against it, the temple could not be preserved from the plough passing over it, by all the care of *Titus*, who would fain have prevented its destruction, and that instead of being re-edified by *Julian*, all his endeavours towards it did but still more literally accomplish our Saviour's prediction, that not one stone should be left upon another.

The ancient Christians were so entirely persuaded of the force of our Saviour's prophecies, and of the punishment which the *Jews* had drawn upon themselves, and upon their children, for the treatment which the *Messiah* had received at their hands, that they did not doubt but they would always remain an abandoned and dispersed people, an hissing and an astonishment among the nations, as they are to this day. In short, that they had lost their peculiarity of being God's people, which was now transferred to the body of Christians, and which preserved the Church of *Christ* among all the conflicts, difficulties and persecutions, in which it was engaged, as it had preserved the *Jewish* government and œconomy for so many ages, whilst it had the same truth and vital principle in it, notwithstanding it was so frequently in danger of being utterly abolished and destroyed. *Origen*, in his fourth book against *Celsus*, mentioning their being cast out of *Jerusalem*, the place

to which their worship was annexed, deprived of their temple and sacrifice, their religious rites and solemnities, and scattered over the face of the earth, ventures to assure them with a face of confidence, that they would never be re-established, since they had committed that horrid crime against the Saviour of the world. This was a bold assertion in the good man, who knew how this people had been so wonderfully re-established in former times, when they were almost swallowed up, and in the most desperate state of desolation, as in their deliverance out of the *Babylonish* captivity, and the oppressions of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Nay, he knew that within less than a hundred years before his own time, the *Jews* had made such a powerful effort for their re-establishment under *Barchocab*, in the reign of *Adrian*, as shook the whole *Roman* empire. But he founded his opinion on a sure word of prophecy, and on the punishment they had so justly incurred; and we find, by a long experience of 1500 years, that he was not mistaken, nay that his opinion gathers strength daily, since the *Jews* are now at a greater distance from any probability of such a re-establishment, than they were when *Origen* wrote.

SECTION IX.

I. *The lives of primitive Christians, another means of bringing learned* Pagans *into their religion.*
II. *The change and reformation of their manners.*
III. *This looked upon as supernatural by the learned* Pagans,
IV. *And strengthened the accounts given of our Saviour's life and history.*
V. *The* Jewish *prophecies of our Saviour, an argument for the heathens belief:*
VI. *Pursued:*
VII. *Pursued.*

I. THERE was one other means enjoyed by the learned *Pagans* of the three first centuries, for satisfying them in the truth of our Saviour's history, which I might

have flung under one of the foregoing heads ; but as it is so shining a particular, and does so much honour to our religion, I shall make a distinct article of it, and only consider it with regard to the subject I am upon : I mean the lives and manners of those holy men, who believed in *Christ* during the first ages of Christianity. I should be thought to advance a paradox, should I affirm that there were More Christians in the world during those times of persecution, than there are at present in these which we call the flourishing times of Christianity. But this will be found an indisputable truth, if we form our calculation upon the opinions which prevailed in those days, that every one who lives in the habitual practice of any voluntary sin, actually cuts himself off from the benefits and profession of Christianity, and whatever he may call himself, is in reality no Christian, nor ought to be esteemed as such.

II. In the times we are now surveying, the Christian religion showed its full force and efficacy on the minds of men, and by many examples demonstrated what great and generous souls it was capable of producing. It exalted and refined its proselytes to a very high degree of perfection, and set them far above the pleasures, and even the pains, of this life. It strengthened the infirmity, and broke the fierceness of human nature. It lifted up the minds of the ignorant to the knowledge and worship of him that made them, and inspired the vicious with a rational devotion, a strict purity of heart, and an unbounded love to their fellow-creatures. In proportion as it spread through the world, it seemed to change mankind into another species of Beings. No sooner was a convert initiated into it, but by an easy figure he became a New Man, and both acted and looked upon himself as one regenerated and born a second time into another state of existence.

III. It is not my business to be more particular in the accounts of primitive Christianity, which have been exhibited so well by others, but rather to observe, that the *Pagan* converts, of whom I am now speaking, mention this great reformation of those who had been the greatest sinners, with that sudden and surprising change which it made in the lives of the most profligate, as having something in it supernatural, miraculous, and more than human.

Origen represents this power in the Christian religion, as no less wonderful than that of curing the lame and blind, or cleansing the leper. Many others represent it in the same light, and looked upon it as an argument that there was a certain divinity in that religion, which showed it self in such strange and glorious effects.

IV. This therefore was a great means not only of recommending Christianity to honest and learned heathens, but of confirming them in the belief of our Saviour's history, when they saw multitudes of virtuous men daily forming themselves upon his example, animated by his precepts, and actuated by that Spirit which he had promised to send among his Disciples.

V. But I find no argument made a stronger impression on the minds of these eminent *Pagan* converts, for strengthening their faith in the history of our Saviour, than the predictions relating to him in those old prophetick writings, which were deposited among the hands of the greatest enemies to Christianity, and owned by them to have been extant many ages before his appearance. The learned heathen converts were astonished to see the whole history of their Saviour's life published before he was born, and to find that the Evangelists and Prophets, in their accounts of the *Messiah*, differed only in point of time, the one foretelling what should happen to him, and the other describing those very particulars as what had actually happened. This our Saviour himself was pleased to make use of as the strongest argument of his being the promised *Messiah*, and without it would hardly have reconciled his Disciples to the ignominy of his death, as in that remarkable passage which mentions his conversation with the two Disciples, on the day of his resurrection. St. *Luke*, chap. 24. verse 13 to the end.

VI. The heathen converts, after having travelled through all human learning, and fortified their minds with the knowledge of arts and sciences, were particularly qualified to examine these prophecies with great care and impartiality, and without prejudice or prepossession. If the *Jews* on the one side put an unnatural interpretation on these prophecies, to evade the force of them in their controversies with the Christians; or if the Christians on

the other side over-strained several passages in their applications of them, as it often happens among men of the best understanding, when their minds are heated with any consideration that bears a more than an ordinary weight with it: the learned Heathens may be looked upon as neuters in the matter, when all these prophecies were new to them, and their education had left the interpretation of them free and indifferent. Besides, these learned men among the primitive Christians, knew how the *Jews*, who had preceded our Saviour, interpreted these predictions, and the several marks by which they acknowledged the *Messiah* would be discovered, and how those of the *Jewish* Doctors who succeeded him, had deviated from the interpretations and doctrines of their forefathers, on purpose to stifle their own conviction.

VII. This sett of arguments had therefore an invincible force with those *Pagan* Philosophers who became Christians, as we find in most of their writings. They could not disbelieve our Saviour's history, which so exactly agreed with every thing that had been written of him many ages before his birth, nor doubt of those circumstances being fulfilled in him, which could not be true of any person that lived in the world besides himself. This wrought the greatest confusion in the unbelieving *Jews* and the greatest conviction in the *Gentiles*, who every where speak with astonishment of these truths they met with in this new magazine of learning which was opened to them, and carry the point so far as to think whatever excellent doctrine they had met with among *Pagan* writers, had been stole from their conversation with the *Jews*, or from the perusal of these writings which they had in their custody.

Text : from the first edition (1739), of which the title page is reproduced opposite.

For a discussion of the *Discourse of Ancient and Modern Learning*, see the Introduction to this edition (Vol. III.).

A

DISCOURSE

ON

Ancient and Modern LEARNING.

By the late RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOSEPH ADDISON, *Esq;*

Now first publiſhed from an Original MANUSCRIPT of Mr. ADDISON's, Prepared and Corrected by himſelf.

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A DISCOURSE ON Ancient and Modern LEARNING.

THE present Age seems to have a very true Taste of polite Learning, and perhaps takes the Beauties of an ancient Author, as much as 'tis possible *for it* at so great a Distance of Time. It may therefore be some Entertainment to us to consider what Pleasure the Cotemporaries and Countrymen of our old Writers found in their Works, which we at present are not capable of; and whether at the same Time the Moderns mayn't have some Advantages peculiar to themselves, and discover several Graces that arise merely from the Antiquity of an Author.

AND here the First and most general Advantage, the Ancients had over us, was, that they knew all the secret History of a Composure: What was the Occasion of such a Discourse or Poem, whom such a Sentence aim'd at, what Person lay disguis'd in such a Character: For by this Means they cou'd see their Author in a Variety of Lights, and receive several different Entertainments from the same Passage. We, on the Contrary, can only please ourselves with the Wit or good Sense of a Writer,

as it stands stripp'd of all those accidental Circumstances that at first help'd to set it off: We have him but in a single View, and only discover such essential standing Beauties as no Time or Years can possibly deface.

I Don't question but *Homer*, who in the Diversity of his Characters has far excell'd all other Heroic Poets, had an Eye on some real Persons who were then living, in most of 'em. The Description of *Thersites* is so spiteful and particular, that I can't but think it one of his own, or his Country's Enemies in disguise, as on the Contrary his *Nestor* looks like the Figure of some ancient and venerable Patriot: An effeminate Fop perhaps of those times lies hid in *Paris*, and a crafty Statesman in *Ulysses*: *Patroclus* may be a Compliment on a celebrated Friend, and *Agamemnon* the Description of a Majestic Prince. *Ajax*, *Hector*, and *Achilles* are all of 'em valiant, but in so different a Manner as perhaps has characterized the different Kinds of Heroism that *Homer* had observed in some of his great Cotemporaries. Thus far we learn from the Poet's Life, that he endeavoured to gain Favour and Patronage by his Verse; and 'tis very probable he thought of this Method of ingratiating himself with particular Persons, as he has made the Drift of the whole Poem a Compliment on his Country in general.

And to shew us, that this is not a bare Conjecture only, we are told in the Account that is left us of *Homer*, that he inserted the very Names of some of his Cotemporaries. *Tychius* and *Mentor* in particular are very neatly celebrated in him. The First of these was an honest Cobler, who had been very kind and serviceable to the Poet, and is therefore advanc'd in his Poem, to be *Ajax*'s Shield-maker. The other was a great Man in *Ithaca*, who for his Patronage and Wisdom has gain'd a very honourable Post in the *Odysses*, where he accompanies his great Country-man in his Travels, and gains such a Reputation for his Prudence, that *Minerva* took his Shape upon her when she made herself visible. *Themius* was the Name of *Homer*'s School-master, but the Poet has certainly drawn his own Character under, when he sets him forth as a Favourite of *Apollo*, that was de-

prived of his Sight, and used to sing the noble Exploits of the *Grecians*.

Virgil too may well be suppos'd to give several Hints in his Poem, which we are not able to take, and to have lain many bye Designs and Under-plots, which are too remote for us to look into distinctly at so great a Distance: But as for the Characters of such as liv'd in his own Time, I have not so much to say of him as *Homer*. He is indeed very barren in this Part of his Poem, and has but little varied the Manners of the principal Persons in it. His *Æneas* is a Compound of Valour and Piety, *Achates* calls himself his Friend, but takes no occasion of showing himself so; *Mnesteus*, *Sergestus*, *Gyas*, and *Cloanthus*, are all of 'em Men of the same Stamp and Character.

—Fortemq; Gyan, fortemq; Cloanthum.

Besides, *Virgil* was so very nice and delicate a Writer, that probably he might not think his Compliment to *Augustus* so great, or so artfully conceal'd, if he had scatter'd his Praises more promiscuously, and made his Court to others in the same Poem. Had he entertained any such Design *Agrippa* must in justice have challenged the second Place, and if *Agrippa*'s Representative had been admitted, *Æneas* wou'd have had very little to do; which wou'd not have redounded much to the Honour of his Emperor. If therefore *Virgil* has shadow'd any great Persons besides *Augustus* in his Characters, they are to be found only in the meaner Actors of his Poem, among the Disputers for a petty Victory in the fifth Book and perhaps in some few other Places. I shall only mention *Iopas* the Philosophical Musician at *Dido*'s Banquet, where I can't but fancy some celebrated Master complimented, for methinks the *Epithet Crinitus* is so wholly foreign to the Purpose, that it perfectly points at some particular Person; who perhaps (to pursue a wandring Guess), was one of the *Grecian* Performers, then in *Rome*, for besides that they were the best Musicians and Philosophers, the Termination of the Name belongs to their Language, and the Epithet is the same [Καρηκομόωντες] that *Homer* gives to his Countrymen in general.

Now that we may have a right Notion of the Pleasure we have lost on this Account, let us only consider the different Entertainment we of the present Age meet with in Mr. *Dryden*'s *Absalom* and *Achitophel*, from what an *English* Reader will find a Hundred Years hence, when the Figures of the Persons concern'd are not so lively and fresh in the Minds of Posterity. Nothing can be more delightful than to see two Characters facing each other all along and running parallel through the whole Piece, to compare Feature with Feature, to find out the nice Resemblance in every Touch, and to see where the Copy fails and where it comes up to the Original. The Reader can't but be pleas'd to have an Acquaintance thus rising by degrees in his Imagination, for whilst the Mind is busy in applying every Particular, and adjusting the several Parts of the Description, it is not a little delighted with its Discoveries and feels something like the Satisfaction of an Author from his own Composure.

WHAT is here said of *Homer* and *Virgil* holds very strong in the ancient Satirists and Authors of Dialogues, but especially of Comedies. What cou'd we have made of *Aristophanes*'s Clouds, had he not told us on whom the Ridicule turn'd; and we have good Reason to believe we should have relish'd it more than we do, had we known the Design of each Character and the secret Intimations in every Line. Histories themselves often come down to us defective on this Account where the Writers are not full enough to give us a perfect Notion of Occurrences, for the Tradition, which at first was a Comment on the Story, is now quite lost and the Writing only preserv'd for the Information of Posterity.

I MIGHT be very tedious on this Head, but I shall only mention another Author who, I believe, received no small Advantage from this Consideration, and that is *Theophrastus* who probably has shown us several of his Cotemporaries in the Representation of his Passions and Vices; for we may observe in most of his Characters something foreign to his Subject, and some other Folly or Infirmity mixing itself with the principal Argument of his Discourse. His Eye seems to have been so attentively fix'd on the Person in

whom the Vanity reign'd, that other Circumstances of his Behaviour besides those he was to describe insinuated themselves unawares, and crept insensibly into the Character. It was hard for him to extract a single Folly out of the whole Mass without leaving a little Mixture in the Separation: So that his particular Vice appears something discolour'd in the Description, and his Discourse, like a Glass set to catch the Image of any single Object, gives us a lively Resemblance of what we look for; but at the same Time returns a little shadowy Landskip of the Parts that lie about it.

And, as the Ancients enjoyed no small Privilege above us, in knowing the Persons hinted at in several of their Authors; so they receiv'd a great Advantage, in seeing often the Pictures and Images that are frequently described in many of their Poets. When *Phidias* had carved out his *Jupiter*, and the Spectators stood astonish'd at so awful and majestic a Figure, he surprised them more, by telling them it was a Copy: And, to make his Words true, shew'd them the Original, in that magnificent Description of *Jupiter*, towards the latter End of the first *Iliad*. The comparing both together probably discover'd secret Graces in each of 'em, and gave new Beauty to their Performances: Thus in *Virgil*'s first *Æneid*, where we see the Representation of Rage bound up, and chain'd in the Temple of *Janus*:

—Furor impius intus
Sæva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus ahenis
Post tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore cruento.

Tho' we are much pleas'd with so wonderful a Description, how must the Pleasure double on those who cou'd compare the Poet and the Statuary together, and see which had put most Horrour and Distraction into his Figure. But we, who live in these lower Ages of the World, are such entire Strangers to this Kind of Diversion, that we often mistake the Description of a Picture for an Allegory, and don't so much as know when it is hinted at. *Juvenal* tells us, a Flatterer will not stick to compare a weak Pair of Shoulders to those of *Hercules*, when he lifts up *Antæus*

from the Earth. Now what a forc'd, unnatural Similitude does this seem, amidst the deep Silence of Scholiasts and Commentators? But how full of Life and Humour, if we may suppose it alluded to some remarkable Statue of these two Champions, that perhaps stood in a publick Place of the City? There is now in *Rome* a very ancient Statue entangled in a Couple of Marble Serpents, and so exactly cut in *Laocoon*'s Posture and Circumstances, that we may be sure *Virgil* drew after the Statuary, or the Statuary after *Virgil*: and if the Poet was the Copyer, we may be sure it was no small Pleasure to a *Roman*, that cou'd see so celebrated an Image out-done in the Description.

I MIGHT here expatiate largely on several Customs that are now forgotten, tho' often intimated by ancient Authors; and particularly, on many Expressions of their cotemporary Poets, which they had an Eye upon in their Reflections, tho' we at present know nothing of the Business. Thus *Ovid* begins the second Book of his Elegies, with these two Lines:

Hæc quoque scribebam Pelignis natus aquosis,
Ille ego nequitiæ Naso poeta meæ.

How far these may prove the four Verses prefix'd to *Virgil*'s *Æneid* genuine, I shall not pretend to determine: But I dare say *Ovid* in this Place hints at 'em if they are so, and I believe ev'ry Reader will agree that the Humour of these Lines wou'd be very much heightened by such an Allusion, if we suppose a Love Adventure usher'd in with an *Ille Ego*, and taking its Rise from something like a Preface to the *Æneid*. Guesses might be numberless on this Occasion, and tho' sometimes they may be grounded falsly, yet they often give a new Pleasure to the Reader and throw in abundance of Light on the more intricate and obscure Passages of an ancient Author.

BUT there is nothing we want more Direction in at present than the Writings of such ancient Authors as abound with Humour, especially where the Humour runs in a Kind of Cant and a particular Set of Phrases. We may indeed in many Places, by the Help of a good Scholiast and Skill in the Customs and Language of a Country know

that such Phrases are humorous and such a Metaphor drawn from a ridiculous Custom; but at the same Time the Ridicule flags, and the Mirth languishes to a modern Reader, who is not so conversant and familiar with the Words and Ideas that lie before him; so that the Spirit of the Jest is quite pall'd and deaden'd, and the Briskness of an Expression lost to an Ear that is so little accustomed to it. This Want of discerning between the comical and serious Stile of the Ancients, has run our modern Editors and Commentators into a senseless Affectation of *Terence*'s and *Plautus*'s Phrases, when they desire to appear pure and classical in their Language: So that you often see the grave Pedant making a Buffoon of himself, where he least designs it, and running into light and trifling Phrases, where he wou'd fain appear solemn and judicious.

ANOTHER great Pleasure the Ancients had beyond us, if we consider 'em as the Poet's Countrymen, was, that they liv'd as it were upon the Spot, and within the Verge of the Poem; their Habitations lay among the Scenes of the *Æneid*; they cou'd find out their own Country in *Homer*, and had every Day perhaps in their Sight the Mountain or Field where such an Adventure happen'd, or such a Battle was fought. Many of 'em had often walk'd on the Banks of *Helicon*, or the Sides of *Parnassus*, and knew all the private Haunts and Retirements of the Muses: So that they liv'd as it were on *Fairy Ground*, and convers'd in an enchanted Region, where every Thing they look'd upon appear'd Romantic, and gave a thousand pleasing Hints to their Imaginations. To consider *Virgil* only in this Respect: How must a *Roman* have been pleas'd, that was well acquainted with the Capes and Promontories, to see the Original of their Names as they stand derived from *Misenus*, *Palinurus*, and *Cajeta*? That cou'd follow the Poet's Motions, and attend his Hero in all his Marches from Place to Place? That was very well acquainted with the Lake *Amsanctus*, where the Fury sunk, and cou'd lead you to the Mouth of the Cave where *Æneas* took his Descent for Hell? Their being conversant with the Place, where the Poem was transacted, gave 'em a greater Relish than we can have at present of several

Parts of it ; as it affected their Imaginations more strongly, and diffus'd through the whole Narration a greater Air of Truth. The Places stood as so many Marks and Testimonies to the Veracity of the Story that was told of 'em, and help'd the Reader to impose upon himself in the Credibility of the Relation. To consider only that Passage in the 8th *Æneid*, where the Poet brings his Hero acquainted with *Evander*, and gives him a Prospect of that Circuit of Ground, which was afterwards cover'd with the Metropolis of the World. The Story of *Cacus*, which he there gives us at large, was probably raised on some old confus'd Tradition of the Place, and if so, was doubly entertaining to a *Roman*, when he saw it work'd up into so noble a Piece of Poetry, as it wou'd have pleas'd an *Englishman*, to have seen in Prince *Arthur* any of the old Traditions of *Guy* varied and beautified in an Episode, had the Chronology suffered the Author to have led his Hero into *Warwickshire* on that Occasion. The Map of the Place, which was afterwards the Seat of *Rome*, must have been wonderfully pleasing to one that liv'd upon it afterwards, and saw all the Alterations that happen'd in such a Compass of Ground : Two Passages in it are inimitably fine, which I shall here transcribe, and leave the Reader to judge what Impressions they made on the Imagination of a *Roman*, who had every Day before his Eyes the *Capitol* and the *Forum*.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem & capitolia ducit
Aurea nunc. olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
Jam tum Religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci, jam tum silvam saxumq ; tremebant.
Hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collem,
Quis Deus, incertum est, habitat Deus. Arcades ipsum
Credunt se vidisse Jovem : Cum sæpe nigrantem
Ægida concuteret dextrâ, nimbosq ; cieret

And afterwards,—*ad tecta subibant*
Pauperis Evandri, passimq ; armenta videbant
Romanoq ; foro et lautis mugire carinis.

THERE is another engaging Circumstance that made *Virgil* and *Homer* more particularly charming to their own Country-men, than they can possibly appear to any of the

Moderns; and this they took hold of by choosing their Heroes out of their own Nation: For by this Means they have humour'd and delighted the Vanity of a *Grecian* or *Roman* Reader, they have powerfully engaged him on the Heroe's Side, and made him, as it were, a Party in every Action: so that the Narration renders him more intent, the Happy Events raise a greater Pleasure in him, the passionate Part more moves him, and in a Word the whole Poem comes more home, and touches him more nearly, than it would have done, had the Scene lain in another Country, and a Foreigner been the Subject of it. No doubt but the Inhabitants of *Ithaca* preferr'd the *Odysses* to the *Iliad*, as the *Myrmidons*, on the contrary, were not a little proud of their *Achilles*. The Men of *Pylos* probably could repeat Word for Word the wise Sentences of *Nestor*: and we may well suppose *Agamemnon*'s Country-men often pleas'd themselves with their Prince's Superiority in the *Greek* Confederacy. I believe therefore, no *English-man* reads *Homer*, or *Virgil*, with such an inward Triumph of Thought, and such a Passion of Glory, as those who saw in them the Exploits of their own Country-men or Ancestors. And here by the Way, our *Milton* has been more universally engaging in the Choice of his Persons, than any other Poet can possibly be. He has obliged all Mankind, and related the whole Species to the two chief Actors in his Poem. Nay, what is infinitely more considerable, we behold in him, not only our Ancestors, but our Representatives. We are really engaged in their Adventures, and have a personal Interest in their good, or ill Success. We are not only their Off-spring, but sharers in their Fortunes; and no less than our own eternal Happiness, or Misery, depends on their single Conduct: So that ev'ry Reader will here find himself concern'd, and have all his Attention and Solicitude rais'd, in every Turn and Circumstance of the whole Poem.

If the Ancients took a greater Pleasure in the Reading of their Poets than the Moderns can, their Pleasure still rose higher in the Perusal of their Orators; tho' this I must confess proceeded not so much from their Precedence to us in respect of Time, as Judgment. Every City among them

swarm'd with Rhetoricians, and every *Senate-house* was almost filled with Orators; so that they were perfectly well vers'd in all the Rules of Rhetoric, and perhaps knew several Secrets in the Art that let 'em into such Beauties of *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero*, as are not yet discovered by a modern Reader. And this I take to have been the chief Reason of that wonderful Efficacy we find ascrib'd to the ancient Oratory, from what we meet with in the present; for, in all Arts, every Man is most mov'd with the Perfection of 'em, as he understands 'em best. Now the Rulers of *Greece* and *Rome* had generally so well accomplish'd themselves in the politer Parts of Learning, that they had a high Relish of a noble Expression, were transported with a well-turn'd Period, and not a little pleased to see a Reason urged in its full Force. They knew how proper such a Passage was to affect the Mind, and, by admiring it insensibly, begot in themselves such a Motion as the Orator desir'd. The Passion arose in 'em unawares, from their considering the Aptness of such Words to raise it. Accordingly, we find the Force of *Tully*'s Eloquence shew'd itself most on *Cæsar*, who probably understood it best; and *Cicero* himself was so affected with *Demosthenes*, that 'tis no Wonder when he was ask'd, which he thought the best of his Orations, he should reply, *The Longest.* But now the Generality of Mankind are so wholly ignorant of the Charms of Oratory, that *Tully* himself who guided the Lords of the whole Earth at his Pleasure, were he now living, and a Speaker in a modern Assembly, wou'd not, with all that divine Pomp and Heat of Eloquence, be able to gain over one Man to his Party. The Vulgar indeed of every Age are equally mov'd by false Strains of Rhetoric, but they are not the Persons I am here concern'd to account for.

The last Circumstance I shall mention, which gave the Ancients a greater Pleasure in the Reading of their own Authors than we are capable of, is that Knowledge they had of the Sound and Harmony of their Language, which the Moderns have at present a very imperfect Notion of. We find, ev'n in Music, that different Nations have different Tastes of it, and those who most agree have some particular Manner and Graces proper to themselves, that are not so

agreeable to a Foreigner: Whether or no it be that, as the Temper of the Climates varies, it causes an Alteration in the animal Spirits, and the Organs of Hearing; or as such Passions reign most in such a Country, so the Sounds are most pleasing that most affect those Passions; or that the Sounds, which the Ear has ever been most accustom'd to, insensibly conform the secret Texture of it to themselves, and wear in it such Passages as are best fitted for their own Reception; or in the last Place that our national Prejudice, and Narrowness of Mind, makes every thing appear odd to us that is new and uncommon: Whether any one, or all of these Reasons may be look'd upon as the Cause, we find by certain Experience, that what is tuneful in one Country, is harsh and ungrateful in another. And if this Consideration holds in Musical Sounds, it does much more in those that are Articulate, because there is a greater Variety of Syllables than of Notes, and the Ear is more accustom'd to Speech than Songs. But had we never so good an Ear, we have still a fault'ring Tongue, and a Kind of Impediment in our Speech. Our Pronunciation is without doubt very widely different from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and our Voices, in respect of theirs, are so out of Tune, that, shou'd an Ancient hear us, he wou'd think we were reading in another Tongue, and scarce be able to know his own Composure, by our Repetition of it. We may be sure, therefore, whatever imaginary Notions we may frame to ourselves, of the Harmony of an Author, they are very different from the Ideas which the Author himself had of his own Performance.

THUS we see how Time has quite worn out, or decay'd several Beauties of our ancient Authors; but to make a little Amends for the Graces they have lost, there are some few others which they have gather'd from their great Age and Antiquity in the World. And here we may first observe, how very few Passages in their Stile appear flat and low to a modern Reader, or carry in 'em a mean and vulgar Air of Expression; which certainly arises, in a great Measure, from the Death and Disuse of the Languages in which the Ancients compil'd their Works. Most of the Forms of Speech made use of in common Conversation, are

apt to sink the Dignity of a serious Style, and to take off from the Solemnity of the Composition that admits them; nay, those very Phrases, that are in themselves highly proper and significant, and were at first perhaps study'd and elaborate Expressions, make but a poor Figure in Writing, after they are once adopted into common Discourse, and sound over familiar to an Ear that is every where accustomed to them. They are too much dishonour'd by common Use, and contract a Meanness, by passing so frequently through the Mouths of the Vulgar. For this Reason, we often meet with something of a Baseness in the Stiles of our best *English* Authors, which we can't be so sensible of in the *Latin* and *Greek* Writers; because their Language is dead, and no more us'd in our familiar Conversations; so that they have now laid aside all their natural Homeliness and Simplicity, and appear to us in the Splendour and Formality of Strangers. We are not intimately enough acquainted with them, and never met with their Expressions but in Print, and that too on a serious Occasion; and therefore find nothing of that Levity or Meanness in the Ideas they give us, as they might convey into their Minds, who used 'em as their Mother-Tongue. To consider the *Latin* Poets in this light, *Ovid*, in his *Metamorphosis*, and *Lucan*, in several Parts of him, are not a little beholden to Antiquity, for the Privilege I have here mention'd, who wou'd appear but very plain Men without it; as we may the better find, if we take 'em out of their Numbers, and see how naturally they fall into low Prose. *Claudian* and *Statius*, on the Contrary, whilst they endeavour too much to deviate from common and vulgar Phrases, clog their Verse with unnecessary Epithets, and swell their stile with forced unnatural Expressions, 'till they have blown it up into Bombast; so that their Sense has much ado to struggle through their Words. *Virgil*, and *Horace*, in his *Odes*, have run between these two extremes, and made their Expressions very sublime, but at the same time very natural. This Consideration, therefore, least affects them, for, tho' you take their Verse to Pieces, and dispose of their Words as you please, you still find such glorious Metaphors, Figures, and Epithets, as give it too great a Majesty for Prose, and look something like the Ruin of a noble Pile, where you see

broken Pillars, scatter'd Obelisks, maimed Statues, and a Magnificence in Confusion.

And as we are not much offended with the low Idiotisms of a dead Language, so neither are we very sensible of any familiar Words that are used in it; as we may more particularly observe in the Names of Persons and Places. We find in our *English* Writers, how much the proper Name of one of our own Country-men pulls down the Language that surrounds it, and familiariseth a whole Sentence. For our Ears are so often used to it, that we find something vulgar and common in the Sound and Cant; but fancy the Pomp and Solemnity of Style too much humbled and depress'd by it. For this Reason, the Authors of Poems and Romances, who are not tied up to any particular Set of proper Names, take the Liberty of inventing new ones, or, at least, of chusing such as are not used in their own Country; and, by this Means, not a little maintain the Grandeur and Majesty of their Language. Now the proper Names of a *Latin* or *Greek* Author have the same effect upon us as those of a Romance, because we meet with 'em no where else but in Books. *Cato*, *Pompey*, and *Marcellus* sound as great in our Ears, who have none of their Families among us, as *Agamemnon*, *Hector*, and *Achilles*; and therefore, tho' they might flatten an Oration of *Tully* to a *Roman* Reader, they have no such an Effect upon an *English* one. What I have here said, may perhaps give us the Reason why *Virgil*, when he mentions the Ancestors of three noble *Roman* Families, turns *Sergius*, *Memmius*, and *Cluentius*, which might have degraded his Verse too much, into *Sergestus*, *Mnestheus*, and *Cloanthus*, tho' the three first wou'd have been as high and sonorous to us as the other.

But though the Poets cou'd make thus free with the proper Names of Persons, and in that respect enjoy'd a Privilege beyond the Prose Writers; they lay both under an equal Obligation, as to the Names of Places: For there is no Poetical Geography, Rivers are the same in Prose and Verse; and the Towns and Countries of a Romance differ nothing from those of a true History. How oddly therefore must the Name of a Paultry Village sound to those who were well acquainted with the Meanness of the Place;

and yet how many such Names are to be met with in the Catalogues of *Homer* and *Virgil*? Many of their Words must therefore very much shock the Ear of a *Roman* or *Greek*, especially whilst the Poem was new; and appear as meanly to their own Country-men, as the Duke of *Buckingham*'s *Putney Pikes* and *Chelsea Cuiraseers* do to an *Englishman*. But these their Catalogues have no such disadvantageous Sounds in 'em to the Ear of a Modern, who scarce ever hears of the Names out of the Poet, or knows any thing of the Places that belong to them. *London* may sound as well to a Foreigner, as *Troy* or *Rome*; and *Islington* perhaps better than *London* to them who have no distinct Ideas arising from the Names. I have here only mention'd the Names of Men and Places; but we may easily carry the Observation further, to those of several Plants, Animals, *&c.* Thus, where *Virgil* compares the Flight of *Mercury* to that of a *Water-Fowl*, *Servius* tells us, that he purposely omitted the word *Mergus*, that he might not debase his Stile with it; which, tho' it might have offended the Niceness of a *Roman* Ear, wou'd have sounded more tolerably in ours. *Scaliger*, indeed, ridicules the old Scholiast for his Note; because, as he observes, the word *Mergus* is used by the same Poet in his *Georgics*. But the Critic should have considered that, in the *Georgics*, *Virgil* studied Description more than Majesty; and therefore might justly admit a low Word into that Poem, which wou'd have disgraced his *Æneid*; especially, when a God was to be join'd with it in the Comparison.

As Antiquity thus conceals what is low and vulgar in an Author, so does it draw a Kind of Veil over any Expression that is strain'd above Nature, and recedes too much from the familiar Forms of Speech. A violent *Grecism*, that wou'd startle a *Roman* at the Reading of it, sounds more natural to us, and is less distinguishable from other Parts of the Stile. An obsolete, or a new Word that made a strange Appearance at first to the Reader's Eye, is now incorporated into the Tongue, and grown of a Piece with the rest of the Language. And as for any bold Expressions in a celebrated Ancient, we are so far from disliking 'em, that most Readers single out only such Passages as are most daring to commend; and

take it for granted, that the Stile is beautiful and elegant, where they find it hard and unnatural. Thus has Time mellowed the Works of Antiquity, by qualifying, if I may so say, the Strength and Rawness of their Colours, and casting into Shades the Light that was at first too violent and glaring for the Eye to behold with Pleasure.

PROSE WORKS

LATIN

Text: from *Theatri Oxoniensis Encænia, Sive Comitia Philologica. Julii 7, Anno* 1693. *celebrata. Oxonii, E Theatro Sheldoniano, An. Dom. MDCXCIII.*

This work was first printed in 1693 in the volume mentioned above. It did not appear in Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721).

Nova Philosophia Veteri præferenda est.

Quousque Veterum vestigiis serviliter insistemus, Academici, nec ultra patres sapere audebimus ? Quousque Antiquitatis ineptias, ut senum deliria nonnulli solent, religiose venerabimur ? Pudeat sane, dum tam præclarum ætatis hujusce specimen coram oculis præsens intuemur, ad Antiquos encomia nostra transferre, & inter priora sæcula quos celebremus sedulo investigare.

Satis superque Veteri Philosophiæ concessum est, quod Stagyritæ laudibus Theatrum toties sonuit Sheldonianum, quod Ille vel Alexandro suo major in scholarum rostris tam diu impune triumphavit, & totum mundum habuit Discipulum. Fæliciori tandem ingenio succedit Cartesius, qui contra omnes omnium oppugnantium vires veritatem pertinaciter asseruit, & novum hoc introduxit philosophandi genus ; si vero Philosophiæ isti Novitatis nomen tribuendum sit, quæ quanquam jam primum innotuerit, vel Peripateticam Antiquitate superat, & ipsi materiæ, à quo derivatur, extitit coætanea. Illustris ille Vir, quem unum Galliæ invidemus, proinde omnia explicuit ac si ipse totius mundi olim fuisset Architectus : Diffregit ille vitreos istos cœlorum orbes quos veterum insomnia compegere, ex materiæ latibulis ignotam eruit Formarum turbam, & elementum Ignis penitus extinxit, imo totam tam dilucide depinxit rerum universitatem ut nulla jam Qualitas relicta sit occulta. Inter mundi Aristotelici angustias & mœnia chrystallina diutius coarctari dedignatur Philosophus, juvat undique superiores cœlorum tractus explorare, novosque soles, & mundos inter sidera latentes detegere ; juvat immensas hasce ætheris plagas orbibus erraticis passim interspersas, terrasque per viam lacteam undiquaque discurrentes intueri, & machinæ totius molem rectius metiri, machinæ jam tandem dignæ ubi philosophorum animi expatientur, Deo dignæ opifice.

Nec solum in Cœlis orbes novos, sed si in Tellurem despiciatur, diversa Animantium genera hodierna patefecit Philosophia, dum Perspicilli ope oculorum acies intenditur,

& obvios se produnt minutissimarum rerum partus ; dum curioso intuitu animatas conspicimus materiæ particulas, & reptiles miramur Atomorum viventium acervos : usque adeo vel oculi acriores fiunt Neotericorum artibus, & opus, quod unum ex omnibus optimum voluit natura, emendatur & perficitur. Non jam barbaras Peripateticorum voces & obscuriores scholarum terminos tanquam Oraculi ambages inepte veneramur, sed ipsa sensuum dictamina consulimus & machinis nuper inventis tormentum quoddam Naturæ admovemus quibus cogitur arcana sua abditissimasque vires palam confiteri.

His adjuti instrumentis etiam Aerem, quem omnibus indulsit naturæ benignitas, nos potentiori arte quoties libet animalibus negamus, pneumaticoque carceri inclusis commune auræ ætheriæ consortium interdicimus : ut juvat irritos pulmonum conatus intueri, vitam exhaurire, & spiritum ipsum ingenioso quodam furto surripere ! ubi nihil adeo tutum est, adeo Animæ suæ tenax, quod non paulatim effrigescat, & nullo accepto vulnere concidat cadaver. Divinum hoc quidem artis opus, & Autore suo non indignum, qui vitæ moribus & Argumentorum pondere gentem nostram & novam tam eximie cohonestavit Philosophiam, qui hinc certe meruit ut aeris sui beneficio nunquam destitueretur, & qui cætera animalia toties vita spoliavit, suam nunquam exhalaret.

Non hisce quidem auxiliis innixus suam contexuit Philosophiam Aristoteles, qui omnes ex seipso eruit Artium & Scientiarum regulas, & nihil intactum nihil illibatum reliquit præter ipsam Veritatem : si ideo in Euripum quoniam illius naturam non satis habuit exploratam sese præcipitem immerserit, eadem quidem ratione adduci potuit ut in ipso Philosophiæ suæ limine mortem sibi consciscerat, & optimo quidem jure dubitare liceat in quo Elemento præter cætera potuis debuerit periisse.

Quin ubi inter Euripi fluctus actum est de Aristotele nova tandem succrevit Peripateticorum progenies, vel Parente pejor, quæ Philosophiam tanta verborum caligine involutam posteris reliquit, ut hoc solum obstet quo minus omnium risu & dicteriis excipiatur, quoniam à paucissimis intelligitur. Inveniuntur autem qui inter has commentariorum sarcinas, quibus hac blateronum soboles mundum oneravit,

operæ pretium ducunt ætatem terere, qui divinos hos Literarum thesauros volvunt denuo, revolvuntque nec unquam prodeunt, nec studiis se unquam abripiunt nisi ut ostendant quanto labore opus est ut erudiamur desipere : num quod enim potest spectaculum pulchrius exhiberi, quam ut pugiles hujusmodi sagaces inter se digladiantes intueamur? hic propositionibus & syllogismis armatus illum similiter armatum aggreditur : uterque vervex indignatur, frendet, avidus victoriæ, quæ non tantilli est utri accenseatur ; uterque (quod unum potest) in alterum barbarismos pro virili ejaculatur ; irretiunt sese tandem ineptiis & cum neuter videt quomodo se expediat, receptui conitur, & consumtis utrinque armis utrinque visum est demum conticescere.

Huc usque, Academici, nec ultra progreditur Antiquorum Philosophia, ineptam ideo hanc Commentatorum turbam Bibliothecis & catenis in æternum damnemus alligandam, ubi vermium & tinearum fiant pabula, & ab omni Lectorum inspectu liberi placide exolescant.

Text : from POEMS | ON | SEVERAL OCCASIONS. | WITH A | DISSERTATION | UPON | The *Roman* POETS. | *By Mr.* ADDISON. | [device] | *LONDON*: | Printed for E. CURLL in *Fleet-street.* 1719. |

(The separate title page prefixed to the *Dissertatio* bears the date 1718.)

The *Dissertatio* did not appear in Tickell's edition of Addison's *Works* (1721).

For a discussion of this work, see the Introduction to this edition (Vol. III.).

DISSERTATIO

DE

INSIGNIORIBUS

ROMANORUM

POETIS.

OMNIUM in re Poetica maxime inclaruerunt Romani, & Romanorum VIRGILIUS: Optimæ quæque Regulæ huic Arti inservientes non tam Criticorum Præceptis quam MARONIS exemplo sunt depromendæ: Ut ideo de reliquis Heroici Carminis Scriptoribus, recte statuamus Virtutes & Vitia quæ apud singulos occurrunt, lectioni conferamus *Virgilianæ*; qui, si ullibi defecerit *Bucolicis*, nonnunquam puriorem immiscuit Styli elegantiam quam quæ *Pastoribus* conveniat, & sæpe grandior sonat Carminum Majestas quam quæ tenui avenæ consona videatur: Apud quemlibet *Georgicorum* librum inimitabili quadam Sermonis Elegantia Res rusticæ explicantur, sed ultimus de *Apum Natura* valde præter cæteros animum delectat; ubi dum in tenui Argumento procedit Poema, solennem quandam Sententiarum & Verborum Pompam studiose affectet Poeta; Apum ideo Opera *Cyclopum* assimulat Laboribus, nec majori Carminum tumultu ÆNEÆ & TURNI recitat Certamina, quam hasce Insectorum Turmas inter sese depræliantes. Ubique exiguæ Reipublicæ Duces, Populi, Studia, Mores, & tenue illud Imperium quod intra Alvearii

Angustias exercetur, venusta nescio qua Carminis Magnificentia exprimuntur: Quin hoc certe in toto Opere præcipue occurrit admirandum, quomodo dum Plantationis, Pastionis, & Agriculturæ curas exequitur Poeta, omissis usitatioribus loquendi formulis, materiæ tam incultæ locutionem Poeticam accommodaret, quomodo ignobiliori depressus Argumento nunquam ad Stylum Plebeium Orationem demiserat; sed tanta undique apparet Locutionum vis, ut multi (quamvis temere) *Georgicos* etiam *Æneidi* prætulisse non dubitarint; sed in hoc Opere, per Argumentum, non licuit alias Poeseωs Partes præstitisse quam Styli & Descriptionum Elegantiam. Quod ad utrumque attinet, illud sibi proprium semper vendicat Maronis Pagina, ut quicquid exprimat mira quadam Dulcedine animum ingrediatur, & quod describat melius quam si Oculis subjiciatur, tanquam præsens intueamur.

In Styli puritate proxime accedit Lucretius, cujus Dictio, si obsoletæ aliquando Verborum Antiquitati, & Numeris pene solutis agnoscas, illorum Palato qui *Romane* sapiunt, persuavis videatur. In Descriptionibus tamen Claudiano secundus debetur Honos, qui amœnas Rerum Imagines ubique venustissima contexuit Oratione, in hoc solummodo vitiosus, quod fusius quam par est semper expatietur, eosdem Versus diversis exponat Loquendi Modis; in hac Arte sese maxime profecisse satis noverat Claudianus, de quacunque enim re satagit, assidue semper quærit quæ describenda sunt, imo plurima sumpsit Argumenta quæ tota in Descriptionibus occupantur, ut videre est in Præfationibus, in *Idylliis*, in Libris de Raptu Proserpinæ, de Phœnice, Histrice, Torpedine, & plerisque Epigrammatum.

Ovidius (ut erat *Aulici* Ingenii Homo) terso quidem & polito Carmine res exhibuit amatorias, in cæteris tamen Operibus istiusmodi occurrit Sermo quali in Triviis uti solent: Ille enim Ingenio suo confisus de operosiori Dictione elaboranda parum erat satis solicitus: In Libro tamen Metamorphoseωs varias optime depinxit Animalium Mutationes, dum prior paulatim exuitur Forma & nova superinducitur.

Utrumque hoc quod jam tractamus Poetis Officium non raro optime præstitit PAPINIUS, LUCANUS neutrum, cujus Dictio quanquam multum sonat inflata, nulla tamen Phraseorum aut Epithetorum Venustate animatur, sed Orationi magis solutæ convenit quam Poeticæ, imo certe tali plerunque utitur Verborum delectu, qualem vel Liber dedignetur Sermo. Et quanquam in Descriptionibus sæpissime versatur, & in hujusmodi diverticula nunquam non excurrit, raro tamen, ut debet, Opus absolvit: Jam vero quod ad STATIUM attinet; plurima certe composuit summis Poetarum invidenda, sed inter magnas Virtutes maxima occurrunt Vitia; in Dictione enim Verba nimis admittit sesquipedalia, nullaque de Argumento habita ratione vana numeris miscet Tonitrua: Nec minus in Descriptionibus peccat; nimio enim calori indulgens, dum totis viribus excellere conatur, ultra Finem tendit opus, et in tumorem excrescit; in utrumque hujusmodi vitium aliquando incidit CLAUDIANUS. Jam vero quoniam de VIRGILII *Æneidis* Argumento varii multa scripserunt & præclara, pauca solummodo de STATII & LUCANI Carminibus sunt advertenda; utpote quæ *Latinorum* omnium sola Epica haberi debent. De LUCANO id sæpe in Disputationem venit, an Historia qua constat *Pharsalicum* Poema, idoneum sit Heroici Carminis Argumentum. Vera ideo Heroicæ Poeseωs Natura inquirenda est, quam apud Librum de Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum his Verbis optime exhibuit VERULAMIUS nostras. Ex quo satis patet veram Historiam cum Epico Poemate male convenire; & proinde LUCANUM quoad Argumentum maxime defecisse: Quinque in illius Poemate maxime emicant Heroes, CÆSAR, POMPEIUS, BRUTUS, CATO, & CICERO: Omnes sane tam Vita insignes quam Morte luctuosi; quorum Virtutes (quantum licuit per humanam Naturam) Perfectioni istæ Heroicæ, quam reliqui Poetæ Ducibus suis falso tribuerunt, proxime accesserant. LUCANUS CÆSARI undique oblatrat, POMPEII Partes ambitiose fovet, sed BRUTI & CATONIS Encomia, ob Stoicum (credo) illud Ingenium, quod cum his habuit commune, maxime celebrat: Et plurima certe quæ LUCANO objicias Philosophiæ hujuscemodi sunt referenda: Inde immodicus iste Ingenii tumor, & ambitiosa Sententiarum ostentatio, quam cum illa Hominum turba

semper habet in Deliciis ; inde quæ magna sunt, quam quæ bona sunt, maluit præferre. Hinc etiam in eximia illa Poeseωs Virtute Passionibus excitandis ipse (qui omnes Philosophiæ Affectus tanquam illicitos existimavit) male successerat, cujus Vitii unicum tantum (ut taceam cætera) Argumentum proferam : Postquam in Pugna Pharsalica CÆSAR de *Pompeio* Victoriam reportaverit, LUCANUS maxime debuit, si aliquid ab ipsa Historia alienum protulisset, lugubri quodam Carmine immeritam doluisse POMPEII sortem ; quippe in toto Opere summo habuit honore ; vel saltem ipsum POMPEIUM (ut ingens patuit Doloris Argumentum) aut de amissa *Romæ* Libertate, aut de Amicorum Mortibus, aut de propriis querentem Infortuniis, introduxisse oportuit. Poeta tamen ab omni hujusmodi Dolore tam longe abest, ut POMPEIUM, obnixe hortaretur, postquam victus a Bello decesserat, ut CÆSARIS Victoris sui commiserescat, quia nempe CÆSAR non sine Scelere Victoria potitus est ;

Nonne juvat pulsum bellis cessisse, nec istud
Prospexisse (nefas !) spumantes cæde catervas ?
Respice turbatos in cursu sanguinis amnes,
Et soceri miserere tui ; Quo pectore Romam
Intrabit factus campis felicior istis ?

Quis tulerit Poetam tam ridicule philosophantem ? quasi vero POMPEIUS Senex, Exul, Miser, Triumphatus, ob Victorem suum quamvis scelestum Commiserationem quandam conciperet : Illum quidem maxime Stoice sapuisse oporterat, qui omnibus hisce Fortunæ Donis spoliatus, tantam in nuda Virtute poneret Felicitatem. Sed nullus Poetarum nisi VIRGILIUS hujusmodi afficiat Dolore : Alii plerunque dum mœrorem aliquem Lectoribus inducerent, in illo peccant, quod nimia Prolixitate sese in questus effundant, nec unquam satis Lachrymarum exhaustum esse sentiant, vel Ingenium, quod maxime possint, Versibus infundendo, faciunt ut magis Carmina miremur, quam materiam lugeamus. De utroque cavit VIRGILIUS, qui mera semper Simplicitate luctuosa ut in se sunt exhibuit ; & leviter quicquid dolet perstrinxerat : " Lamentationes enim, inquit CICERO, debent esse breves

" & concisæ, quia Lachryma subito exarescit, & difficile " est Auditorem aut Lectorem in summo illo animi affectu " tenere." Ut vero ad STATIUM redeamus, illi quidem Spiritus non raro feliciter assurgit, cui dum temperare nequit, nescio quas projicit Ampullas, & vana Carminibus addit Numerorum Terriculamenta. THEBAIDIS quidem Argumentum Ingenii sui Truculentiæ, sed non Heroico Poemati satis aptum videatur: ETEOCLES enim, POLYNICES, & TYDEUS, quorum gesta hoc Carmine celebrantur, nihil habent eorum, si unicam Fortitudinem demas, quæ conveniunt Heroibus: Imo in toto Poemate nulla nisi Scelerum, qualia sunt Parricidii, Perfidiæ, Immanitatis, Odiorum proferuntur Exemplaria; dum in omnibus fere quos suo Carmine induxit VIRGILIUS præclara quædam illucescunt, & in ipso ÆNEA summam Pietatem erga Deos, Natum, Conjugem, Amicos, & Parentem, Oculis semper habemus subjectam. Epitheta plerunque STATIANA multum sonant metaphorice, dum inanimatis illa tribuuntur quæ Animalibus conveniunt. In Verbis tamen nec raro sine maxima Elegantia Metaphoras consectatur CLAUDIANUS; VIRGILIUS in utrisque parcissimus; STATIUS plurimas rerum similitudines composuit, multum sæpe de VIRGILII Ingenio referentes, in qua arte melius successerat LUCANUS, si aliquid unquam mediocre admiserat; sed dum VIRGILIUS ad Apes, ad Formicas, & istiusmodi Natura ludicra descendit, nihil unquam nisi Quercum fulminatam, Terræ Exitium, aut Mundi Conflagrationem ebuccinat LUCANUS. Et hisce tandem, quorum alii non operæ Pretium duxerunt meminisse, de Heroicis Scriptoribus breviter perstrictis; de Satyricis restat dicendum; quorum omnium JUVENALIS & HORATIUS Palmam dubiam quidem fecerunt: Inter Literatos enim multum discrepat, utrum mordax illa Ingenii acerbitas, qua suam armavit paginam JUVENALIS, an potius HORATII festivæ Irrisiones, magis Satyræ conveniant: Ut vero de utroque rectius statuatur, pauca prius sunt advertenda. Ob infamem vitæ suæ lasciviam, etiam nunc temporis, male audit HORATIUS; Virtutem tamen semper rigide coluit JUVENALIS: Ille in absolutissima AUGUSTI Aula versatus est, hic in pessima DOMITIANI Tempora incidisset: Proinde ut ad sua & Sæculi utriusque Ingenia Opera accommodarent

Poetæ, HORATIUS totus in ludicro exercetur Argumento, nec Morum Licentiam, sed indecoras quasdam Aulicorum Ineptias plerunque insectatur; non ideo abfuisset quin irridetur, si aliqua Styli severitate ad leviuscula hujusmodi castiganda se accinxisset: Gravissima tamen in Temporibus suis reprehendit JUVENALIS, & de Vitiis ubique queritur quæ vel pudeat recitare, & isti sane Materiæ, summa Mentis Indignatio, Orationis Ardor, & Ingenii Acrimonia, rectissime aptari videantur. Quamvis ubi ad Jocularia Animum demittit, non raro Satyris Festivitatem fundit HORATIANAM. Uterque ideo (modo diversum consulas Argumentum) suo quidem Genere perfectissimus emicuit; in quo Ridiculum Acri melius, in hoc Acre Ridiculo. Reliqua certe HORATII Opera, Admiratione potius sunt digna quam Encomiis, nec majora solum Vituperatione, sed etiam Laude. Jam vero quod ad Dramaticos attinet, PLAUTI & TERENTII Argumenta, Sales, Elegantiæ ubique adeo vulgantur, ut nihil de novo possit adjici: De SENECA vero tam diverse sentiunt, ut alii inter summos Tragicorum, alii infra Infimum annumerent: Illi quidem Ingenium valde magnum, Oratio elegans & concisa, abundat Sententiis plerunque acutis, Stoicam semper Philosophiam, quam amplexus est, redolentibus. Unde omnibus fere, qui Artem Dramaticam parum sapiunt, semper est in Deliciis; si tamen ad hanc respicias, Tragœdiæ ubique plurimum laborant, & istud vitii (ut reliqua prætermittam) SENECÆ peculiare videatur, ut quoscunque inducat Interlocutores, nulla, ad Personas quas sustinet, habita ratione, eundem semper unicuique tribuat loquendi modum: Omnes severiora spirant Philosophiæ Dogmata, & quæ Stoæ magis conveniant quam Theatro. Eadem semper Styli Magnificentia superbiunt Rex, & Nuncius: Imo ipsam Nutricem (plurima enim tam acute profert) Stoicorum Præceptis non mediocriter imbutam sentias. Inter Epigrammatistas potissimum emicuerunt MARTIALIS & CLAUDIANUS; Ille semper in extremo Poemate Ingenii subjecit acumen, & sæpe similia insequitur Verborum Tintinnabula; Hic per totum Epigramma suum dispergit Salem, & venustissima ubique utitur Latinitatis Elegantia. Cæterum tamen Poetarum Vulgus, de istiusmodi mediocribus sunt, quos nec Dii nec Homines concesserunt; &

quamvis una aut altera apud affectatas CATULLI Oratiunculas, TIBULLI aut PROPERTII inhonestam paginam, & Carmina incuriosa, illucescat Virtus, non tamen est Operæ Pretium Gemmas inter Stercora eruere.

Jo. Addison, è Coll. Magd. Oxon.

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